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AMERICAN  
POLITICAL AND MILITARY  
**BIOGRAPHY.**

IN TWO PARTS.

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**PART I.**

THE POLITICAL LIVES AND PUBLIC CHARACTERS  
OF THE  
PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MEN.

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**PART II.**

THE LIVES CHARACTERS, AND ANECDOTES  
OF THE  
MILITARY AND NAVAL OFFICERS  
OF THE  
**REVOLUTION.**

WHO WERE MOST DISTINGUISHED IN ACHIEVING OUR  
*NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.*

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PART II.

MILITARY AND NAVAL OFFICERS

OF THE

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# SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE

## AMERICAN REVOLUTION.



ALTHOUGH the narrow and illiberal policy of the British government towards her North American colonies, from their first settlement, was calculated to alienate the affections of the colonies from the parent country ; yet from their exposed situation, and habitual loyalty, this unworthy conduct, long persevered in, produced no sensible impression on the Americans : their loyalty and attachment to the interests of Britain were not in the smallest degree impaired, down to the period of the peace of Paris in 1763. Never had they shewn so much zeal, or made such great sacrifices in the cause of their country, as during the preceding war ; having lost more than twenty-five thousand men, expended all the revenues they could raise, and involved themselves deeply in debt. Almost the whole burdens of the war in America had fallen on the colonies ; and their exertions were altogether disproportionate to their means, and tended greatly to impoverish and distress them. After eight years' arduous struggles, attended with the greatest sacrifices, the successful termination of the war—the dominion of France in America being relinquished forever—occasioned universal joy throughout the colonies ; they forgot their sufferings and distresses, in the fair prospects which the peace afforded.

But these prospects were of short duration ; the peace of Paris formed a new æra in the views and conduct of Great Britain towards her colonies in America. The possessions of France, in America, having been ceded to Britain, and having no longer any fear of her power in this hemisphere, a system of measures was pursued towards the colonies, originating in jealousy, and tending to despotism. As soon as the colonies had fought their way to a condition, which afforded the prospect of rapidly increasing in population and wealth, attempts were made to restrict their commercial and political privileges, and gradually to reduce them to the most wretched state of colonial vassalage. For a century and a half, the colonies had been left to themselves as to taxation ; their own local assemblies had provided the necessary revenues to defray the expenses of their governments ; and the

parliament of Great Britain had neither directly nor indirectly ever attempted to derive a dollar of revenue from America ; although various acts had from time to time been passed, regulating the trade and commerce of the colonies, yet none of these were designed or regarded, either in Britain or America, as revenue laws.

But in an inauspicious moment, the British ministry conceived the idea of taxing the colonies, under the pretence of providing for their protection, but in reality to relieve the nation from the immense debt, the weight of which hung heavily upon it. This iniquitous scheme, originating with the cabinet, was easily introduced into parliament ; and in March, 1764, as a prelude to the memorable *Stamp Act*, the house of commons resolved, “ That towards further defraying the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, *it may be necessary to charge certain stamp duties upon them ;*” and this resolution was followed by what was commonly called the Sugar Act, passed on the 5th of April, and introduced by the following truly alarming preamble :—“ Whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same ; we, the commons, &c. towards raising the same, give and grant unto your majesty, after the 29th day of September, 1764, on clayed sugar, indigo and coffee, of foreign produce, [and various other articles] the sum of,” &c. This was the first act adopted by parliament, for the avowed object of raising a revenue in the colonies. The *justice* of this measure, which appeared so clear to the British parliament, was regarded in America as *oppression* and *tyranny*, and occasioned great excitement and alarm. The deceptive pretension, that the revenue was to be raised for the purpose of *protecting* the colonies, was only adding insult to injustice ; as the colonies supposed that they were capable of protecting themselves, and they apprehended that the object was rather under the pretence of affording them protection, to maintain a military force in America, for the purpose of dragooning them into submission, and enforcing an unconstitutional system of taxation ; thereby rendering them the instruments of forging their own chains. This act was rendered more disgusting, by a provision that the money raised by it must be paid in specie, and another, that those charged with having violated the revenue laws, might be prosecuted in the courts of admiralty ; whereby they were deprived of the privilege of trial by a jury, and were liable to be condemned by a single officer of the crown, whose salary was to be paid from the very forfeitures decreed by himself. And this was not all, or even the worst ; as the trial was conducted on such principles, that the accused, contrary to the well known maxims of the common law, and repugnant to every idea of justice, was obliged to prove himself innocent, or suffer the penalties of the law. These iniquitous proceedings destroyed all security of property, and left every one at the mercy of the minions of the British crown. Their pernicious influence was soon felt extensively in the colonies ; they no longer regarded Great Britain as an affectionate mother, but viewed her in the

light of a selfish, cruel and imperious step-mother. The designs of the ministry were penetrated, and occasioned great alarm, which spread wider and wider, until it became universal. The press, that great engine of truth and liberty, was called into requisition ; the subject was ably and elaborately discussed ; and the more it was discussed, and the better it was understood, the more strong and determined the opposition became. All the colonies petitioned and remonstrated against these obnoxious measures, and most of them appointed agents to present their memorials to parliament, or the king.

But notwithstanding the excitement and opposition in America, and the remonstrances of the colonies, Mr. Grenville, who was at the head of the treasury, prepared the Stamp-Bill, and introduced it into parliament in February, 1765 ; and although opposed with all the powers of eloquence, by Alderman Beckford, Mr. Jackson, Colonel Barre, Sir William Meredith and others, it was adopted by a great majority ; fifty only voting in opposition, out of about three hundred members, who were present. On the second reading of the bill, various petitions ; not only from the colonies, but from the London merchants interested in the American trade, were presented ; but the petitions were not even received, being refused, on the plea that no memorial could be received on a money bill. Having passed both houses of parliament, on the 22d of March, the Stamp-Act received the royal assent. Dr. Franklin, then in England, as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of congress—"The sun of liberty is set ; you must light up the lamps of industry and economy." Mr. Thompson, in a spirited reply, observed, "That he thought *other lights* would be lighted up to resist these unconstitutional measures." It is unnecessary to add, that this prediction was soon fulfilled.

This unjust and impolitic act was the first great cause which led to the American revolution ; indeed it was substantially the first scene in the bloody drama of that revolution. It was passed in parliament, on the 7th of February, 1765, under the ministry of Lord Grenville, and was repealed on the 18th of March, 1766, from the influence of Mr. Pitt. This period of thirteen months was the most eventful and tumultuous of any which had hitherto occurred ; the apprehensions of the people were roused to the highest pitch, and the most determined spirit of opposition prevailed throughout the colonies. The Americans had not believed that the act would be passed, and on receiving the intelligence, every one was struck with astonishment and filled with consternation ; they looked at each other with amazement, and for a short interval, hesitated what course to pursue ; but soon recovering from their consternation they determined not to submit to such a flagrant outrage on their rights. In Boston, the ships in the harbor, in token of the deepest mourning, suspended their colours half-mast high ; the bells were rung muffled ; and the obnoxious act, with a death's head in front of it, with the motto—"THE FOLLY OF ENGLAND AND THE RUIN OF AMERICA,"



was carried in solemn procession about the streets. The discontents soon spread throughout the colonies, and the opposition became general and determined ; the spirit of the people gave a tone to the colonial assemblies, and bold and decided resolutions were adopted against the iniquitous scheme of parliamentary taxation. Virginia took the lead, and on the 28th of May, 1765, Patrick Henry introduced his celebrated resolutions into the house of burgesses, which declared that the inhabitants of that colony were entitled to, and had possessed and enjoyed all the rights, liberties and privileges of the people of Great Britain ; that the general assembly of the colony had always exercised and alone possessed the power to levy taxes and imposts on the inhabitants of the colony, and that they " were not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them other than the law and ordinances of the general assembly." So bold and unexpected were these resolutions, that whilst they were reading, one of the members cried out " treason ! treason !"

These resolutions were communicated to all the colonies, and the spirit they breathed spread from one legislature to another, and their sentiments were reiterated in resolutions adopted by the legislatures and the freemen in public meetings. Committees were appointed, by the assemblies of the colonies, to correspond with each other, and to meet for consultation ; the object of which was to secure harmony of feeling and concert of action. These measures had a very happy effect ; in the mean time, the press teemed with constant publications, vindicating the rights of the colonies ; and many of them were of a highly inflammatory character, calculated to raise the public mind to the highest pitch. The pulpit also, particularly in New-England, labored in the same cause with great zeal and effect ; the flame of liberty kindled from breast to breast, and spread from province to province, until the conflagration became general. The spirit of opposition ran so high as to break out into acts of tumult and disorder. In Boston the effigy of Mr. Oliver, the stamp-master, was burnt, and his house assailed, partly demolished, and his furniture destroyed ; and soon after, the house of William Storer, deputy-register of the court of admiralty, was attacked, and the books and files of the court destroyed ; and the house of Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs, shared the same fate. These outrages were followed by a more bold and daring attack upon the dwelling of Mr. Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of the province ; he was obliged to flee to save his life, and his house was entirely demolished, except the walls, and every thing in it destroyed or carried off. Similar outrages were committed in other places. In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the stamp-officer, was burnt in effigy in many towns ; and whilst he was proceeding from New-Haven to Hartford, where the assembly was in session, he was pursued and overtaken by a large concourse of people, some from more than thirty miles, and compelled to resign his office, which was followed by three hearty cheers of liberty and property. This took place at Wethersfield, from whence

the people, who were headed by militia officers, proceeded to Hartford, where Mr. Ingersoll was compelled to read his resignation in the hearing of the assembly, which was succeeded by loud acclamations of liberty and property. In New-York the stamp officer was compelled to resign, and Lieutenant-Governor Colden was burnt in effigy, with a stamp-bill in his hand, suspended from his own coach, and the whole was consumed together.

In the southern colonies, the public feeling did not lead to the same excesses ; but in all of them, means were found to compel the stamp officers to resign ; and in all the colonies the assemblies adopted resolutions in opposition to the stamp-act, although in many of them the royal governors prorogued and attempted to stop their proceedings. The members of the colonial assemblies were animated and encouraged by the people, who, in most of the towns, instructed them to oppose the stamp-act. But the most important measure to unite the colonies and give energy and effect to their opposition, was convening a continental congress, consisting of deputies appointed by each colony. This measure was first proposed by the assembly of Massachusetts. The meeting was appointed to be holden in New-York, in October, 1765. All the colonies, except New-Hampshire, Virginia, North-Carolina, and Georgia, sent deputies ; the three last of these colonies were prevented by their governors, and the first excused itself on account of its peculiar situation. The congress, after mature deliberation, adopted a declaration of rights, and a statement of the grievances of the colonies, and asserted, in the strongest terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. It also prepared a petition to the house of commons.

As the first of November, the time when the stamp-act was to go into operation, approached, public feeling became still stronger and was exerted to the utmost to prevent the execution of the law. In New-York, ten boxes of stamps, which had arrived there for Connecticut, were seized by the populace and burned ; and in other ports, the masters of vessels, which brought out stamps, were compelled to return with their detestable cargoes or deliver them up to the people to be destroyed. In Boston, and many of the principal towns, the first of November was kept as a day of mourning and deep distress : all the shops were shut, the bells were tolled muffled, and the effigies of the authors and abettors of the act were carried in procession through the streets, and then torn to pieces and consumed by the flames.

The lawyers of the supreme court in New-Jersey resolved that they would not purchase the stamps in their professional business, and that they would relinquish their practice as a sacrifice to the public good ; and the principal merchants in the colonies, and great numbers of other classes of the inhabitants, entered into solemn engagements not only to refuse to use the stamps, but also not to import any more goods from Great Britain until the stamp-act should be repealed. Associations were formed, called the "Sons of Liberty," the object of which was, to assist and protect with force, if necessary, every one who might be in danger



from his resistance or opposition to the stamp-act. This bold association originated in New-York, and prevailed throughout New-England, and, had not the act been repealed, must have led to civil war. The restrictive measures produced distress and tumults in England ; large numbers of the manufacturers being thrown out of employment, and more than forty thousand, with black flags, appeared in the streets in London, and surrounded the royal palace and parliament house. Fortunately a change of ministry took place, in consequence of what was called the regency bill, and Lord Grenville was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the treasury, and the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were appointed secretaries of state. In January the parliament met ; the affairs of America occupied the principal attention, and the first talents of the house were engaged in the discussion. Mr. Pitt, who had been confined to his bed by sickness, when the stamp-act was passed, now came forward as the great champion of the rights of the Americans, and with his manly and all-powerful eloquence, opposed the unjust, unconstitutional and dangerous measure ; he even justified the Americans in their resistance of an act of tyranny and oppression. After a long and animated discussion, the act was repealed, accompanied, however, with a declaration, " that the king and parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatsoever*." An act of indemnity was also passed.

The repeal of the obnoxious act occasioned universal joy, both in Great Britain and America ; the ships in the Thames displayed their colours, and the whole city of London was illuminated ; and in the colonies, notwithstanding the declaratory act, asserting the principle of taxation, the joy and rejoicings were universal ; the non-importation resolutions were rescinded ; animosities, ill-treatment, and every thing past, were forgotten, and commercial intercourse with Great Britain was resumed with greater activity than ever before had been witnessed. The colonies hoped and believed, that harmony would now be restored, and did every thing in their power to promote this desirable object. But the officers of the crown, the minions of power, and the expectants of place, kept up a correspondence with the officers of the British government at home, and attempted to promote their own selfish views by misrepresenting their countrymen. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, was the head of this party, which contributed so much to breed difficulties and bring matters to a crisis. Notwithstanding that the declaratory act still hung over the heads of the colonies, like a portentous cloud, it was not generally expected that the British government would very soon make another so dangerous an experiment. But these reasonable expectations, however, soon proved to be fallacious, and all reliance on the justice or liberality of Britain, were found to be deceptive and dangerous. Notwithstanding the distraction into which the colonies had been thrown, by the stamp-act, within a few months after its repeal, and before the wounds it had occasioned had

had time to heal, the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townsend, came forward with a new scheme of taxing America, and was so sanguine in his views, that he pledged his character for the success of the project. The new revenue scheme was, to take off the duties on teas, which were paid in Great Britain, and to levy three pence per pound on all that was purchased in America, and also a duty on paper, glass and several other articles. A board of customs was established, and commissioners appointed to set in Boston to collect the duties ; and the custom-officers were to be paid from the revenue thus raised ; and the governor, judges of the superior court, and other officers in Massachusetts, who had hitherto been dependant for their salaries on the assembly, to render them independent of the people, and more devoted to Great Britain, were also to be paid from these revenues. And to carry the iniquitous system into effect (as unjust laws can only be enforced by unjust means,) the powers of the court of admiralty were greatly extended, so as to deprive the people of trial by jury in prosecutions for violating the revenue laws. Writs of Assistance, as they were called, issued by the governor, or any officer of the revenue, authorised searching the house of the most respectable inhabitant in the province, on suspicion of the concealment of contraband or smuggled goods.

When intelligence of these new parliamentary regulations reached America, they occasioned universal astonishment, and revived all the excitement and alarm which prevailed during the stamp-act. In the minds of reflecting men they were regarded as more dangerous than that obnoxious act, as an indirect and disguised system of taxation had a more certain and fatal tendency to undermine the liberties and enslave the people, than direct taxes. The colonies, assailed by the same injuries, had recourse to their former measures of complaint and supplication ; but their petitions were not even read, and their remonstrances treated with contempt, thus adding insult to injustice. These accumulated injuries and indignities aroused the fears and spirit of the colonies ; and a circular letter, addressed to the other colonies, by the assembly of Massachusetts, contributed to diffuse the flame and lead to concert of action. This letter was dated the 11th of February, 1768, and the sentiments it contained were reiterated by most of the colonial assemblies. From the bold and determined conduct of the assembly of Massachusetts, it was prorogued by the governor. Another assembly was convened in May following, to which the governor, in his first communication, insolently *demand*ed of them, as required by the British Secretary of State, to *rescind* the resolutions of the preceding assembly, which led to the circular letter, and intimated that unless they complied immediately they would be dissolved at once. But the assembly acted with a firmness which became the defenders of liberty ; and instead of complying with this haughty mandate, petitioned the king for the removal of the royal governor, and charged upon him a long catalogue of crimes. The governor, exasperated at their conduct, immediately dissolved the mutinous assembly, and applied to the commander in



chief of the king's troops, then in New-York, to have several additional regiments sent to Boston. Alarmed at these circumstances, the inhabitants of Boston beseeched the governor to convene another assembly ; but he treated their request with contempt. The crisis required something to be done, without delay, and accordingly letters were written to every town in the colony, requesting the appointment of delegates to meet in convention at Boston, before the arrival of the troops. Delegates from ninety-six towns met on the 22d of September. The governor instantly sent them an angry message, commanding them to disperse, threatening, in case of refusal, that they would suffer the consequence of their temerity. The convention, however, was not frightened into submission, but gave their reasons for convening, continued their deliberations, and prepared a petition to the king.

On the first of October, the troops arrived and landed ; and, sword in hand, paraded through the streets of Boston, which were filled with vast crowds, who with sullen silence, denoting the deepest resentment, witnessed this, the first act in the great and bloody drama about to be performed. No tumult or resistance however, ensued, notwithstanding the troops were quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. The assembly met in May, 1769, and immediately adopted several spirited resolutions ; that the placing an armed force where the legislature was convened, to overawe their deliberations, was a breach of privilege, and that the quartering of troops on the inhabitants in time of *peace*, was illegal and a violation of the rights and liberties of British subjects.

A standing army was now stationed in the capital of Massachusetts, for the avowed object of coercing the inhabitants into submission ; their commerce fettered, their characters traduced, the assembly prevented from meeting, and the petitions of all classes to have the assembly convened, treated with contempt by an insolent governor, who threatened to augment the troops, and enforce at all hazards, his arbitrary and tyrannical measures ; it cannot be surprising that the fears and exasperations of the people exceeded what had ever been witnessed before. At this alarming conjuncture, something must be done, and there was no other alternative but submission or resistance, as petitions had been treated with such contempt, that to memorialize any branch of the British government would be equivalent to submission ; and there were but two ways of resistance, either an appeal to the sword, or an entire suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, which, as was said by Mr. Pitt in his speech, furnished the means whereby Britain had carried on the war with France, and which if continued, would afford the means of their own oppression. As all the colonies were involved in one common danger, they readily entered into the most solemn engagements, that no British or India goods should be imported, except a few specified articles of necessary use. The effects of these arrangements were soon felt in England, and produced clamors, and even tumults in some parts of the kingdom. But



the partizans of the crown in America, endeavored by their correspondence, to induce the ministry to persevere in their oppressive measures, and represented in the strongest terms, that the interruption of commerce was only an effort of desperation, which could not last long. They advised the ministry, to purchase large quantities of goods, designed for the American market, and also to allow the merchants engaged in the American trade, a premium equal to the profits of their stock in business. "If these measures are adopted," said Mr. Oliver, secretary in Massachusetts, in one of his letters, "*the game will soon be up with my countrymen.*"

The assembly which convened at Boston in May, set several weeks without doing any business, as they refused to act as long as an armed force was quartered in the town, and surrounded the house where they were in session ; they were finally adjourned to Cambridge. They sent several messages to the governor to have the troops removed, but after evading the matter for some time, he declared that he had no authority over the king's troops ; thus admitting that the military was above the civil power in the province. Governor Bernard sent a provoking message, stating the expenditures of quartering the troops on the town, and requesting that provision be made for the payment of the same, and also for their future support ; the assembly were thus called on to maintain the instruments by which they were to be oppressed and enslaved. But instead of complying with this request, they passed several spirited resolutions, censuring the conduct of the governor and General Gage, for their rash and oppressive measures, their wanton violations of the constitution, the introduction of a standing army in time of peace, and their encroachments on the liberties of the citizens and of the province. The governor had received an order to repair to England, and lay before the king the state of the colony ; which he communicated to the assembly, with a request that his salary might be continued during his absence, as his office would remain. But the assembly informed him in decided terms, that they could not comply with either of his requests. On receiving this answer, he immediately, after a short, angry, and threatening speech, prorogued the legislature. He soon after set sail for Europe, then little thinking that he should never return to a country that by his violent temper and arbitrary conduct, he had brought to the brink of civil war. His reception at court convinced the Americans of the truth of what they feared, that the governor had been sent for, as a mischievous emissary, rather than for an impartial inquiry into the real situation of the province, or an investigation of his own conduct.

Thomas Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, was appointed to succeed Governor Bernard. Hutchinson was a native of Boston, and had run a career of popularity ; whilst, however, he was courting the people at home, he was not less assiduous in ingratiating himself into the favor of the British government, by misrepresenting his countrymen. He was artful and plausible, and possessed of popular talents ; but was insidious, dark, intriguing and ambitious ; and the extreme of avarice marked every

feature of his character. His appointment was announced at the close of the year 1769. He immediately assumed a more haughty tone, and aimed at more high handed measures than his predecessor, and commenced his administration by informing the assembly that he was *independent* of them and the people, as his majesty had made provision for his salary. Secure of the favor of his sovereign, he treated the people and the assembly with contempt, and answered their repeated solicitations to remove the troops from the capital, by withdrawing the garrison from a strong fortress in the harbor of Boston, who were in the pay of the province, and replacing them by two regiments of the king's troops. The ebullitions of popular feeling, were so high as to occasion great alarm with the leading patriots, that it would break out into acts of violence, which might injure the cause of the people. The miserable minions of power in America, endeavoured to promote this result, and openly avowed, "that the only method to restore tranquillity, was to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings had instilled the poison of sedition into the people." James Otis, the most active, bold and influential patriot of the day, having published under his proper signature, some severe strictures on the conduct of the officers of the crown, was assaulted in a public room, by a band of hired ruffians, with swords and bludgeons; and being covered with wounds, was left for dead. The assassins made their escape, and took refuge on board the king's ships in the harbor. Mr. Otis survived, but the lamp of his understanding which had glowed with such effulgence, was overcast with clouds and darkness. Mr. John Adams says that he "laid the foundation of the American revolution, with an energy, and with those masterly talents which no other man possessed;" and he is justly considered as the first martyr to American liberty.

The insults which the inhabitants constantly experienced, from the soldiers, increased their animosity towards them to such a degree, as to lead to violence and blood-shed. On the second of March, 1770, an affray took place between a party of soldiers of the 29th regiment, and some rope-makers, in front of Mr. Gray's rope-walk. This was followed by a more alarming outrage on the 5th: the indignant populace pressed upon and insulted the soldiers, while under arms; and assailed them with clubs, sticks and snow-balls, covering stones. Being dared to fire by the mob, six of the soldiers discharged their muskets, which killed three of the citizens, and wounded five others. The effect of this was electric; the town was instantly in commotion, and the mass of the people were so exasperated, that it required the utmost exertions to prevent their rallying and driving the British myrmidons out of town; and nothing but an assurance that the troops should be withdrawn, prevented this resort to force. The captain of the party and eight men were brought to trial; two of the men were found guilty; the captain and the other men were acquitted. A general meeting of the inhabitants was immediately assembled in Faneuil Hall, who unanimously resolved that no armed force should be suffered longer to reside



in the capital ; and a committee was appointed to wait on the governor, and request the immediate removal of the troops. The governor refused to act, under pretence of want of authority ; but Colonel Dalrymple, alarmed at the state of things, proposed to withdraw the 29th regiment, which was more culpable than any other ; but he was informed that not a soldier should be left in town ; he was reluctantly compelled to comply, and within four days not a *Red-coat* remained. This tragical affair produced the deepest impressions on the minds of the people ; and the anniversary of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, was commemorated for many years, and orations delivered, which unfolded the blessings of civil liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of standing armies, and the rights of the colonies. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame, and in no small degree promoted the cause of the colonies, in a manner that served to give a deeper glow to the flame of liberty. In the spring of 1773, the schooner *Gaspee* was stationed at Providence, to prevent smuggling ; and the conduct of the commander having exasperated the inhabitants, two hundred men entered on board the schooner at night, and compelled the captain and crew to go ashore, and then set fire to the vessel. The government offered a reward of five hundred pounds, for the apprehension of any of the persons engaged in this outrage ; but such was the spirit and unanimity of the people, that this pecuniary inducement produced no effect, and the authors of the outrage could not be discovered. About this period, the letters of Governor Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, to their friends in England, urging the government to adopt more decisive and vigorous measures, to coerce the colonies into submission, were discovered and sent back to America by Dr. Franklin, which, being published by the assembly of Massachusetts, greatly contributed to inflame the public mind, and exasperate the people against these officers of the crown, who were justly charged with having shamefully betrayed their trust, and the people, whose rights it was their duty vigilantly to guard. Whilst the other duties were repealed, that on tea was retained, for the sole and avowed object of maintaining the power, which parliament had asserted, of collecting a revenue in America. The ministerial scheme was cunning and artful ; but did not, in the least degree, deceive the vigilance of the Americans. The object was to *cheat* the colonies out of their rights, by collecting an indirect, imperceptible duty, little more than *nominal* in amount, which, however, if acquiesced in, would have been an admission of the *principle* or right of Britain to raise a revenue in America. It was an attempt to obtain, covertly and by *fraud*, what they had attempted, but failed to obtain, openly by *force*. In the first place, measures were adopted, openly and explicitly, for taxing the colonies, the duties to be paid directly by the consumer ; but being unable to enforce this act, it is repealed, accompanied with a declaration of the *right* of parliament to tax the Americans, in all cases whatsoever. This naked assertion of a right, when the application of it had

been attempted and abandoned, did not give the Americans much concern : they would not have cared, if the British had kept that assertion of a *right* to do wrong on their statute-book, as long as the two countries existed, provided they had not attempted to exercise their assumed right. But the advocates of American taxation seemed to be sensible, that the bare assertion of a right, after an unsuccessful attempt to enforce it, would amount to but little, and that conclusions, obviously following the abandonment of the first attempt to tax the Americans, would be left in their full force. Under the circumstances in which the two countries were placed, therefore, the right must be enforced, or it must be considered as virtually abandoned. But this had been once attempted, without success ; a more ingenious mode, therefore, must be devised, or one less likely to give alarm to the colonies. The stamp duties were a *direct* tax, as the duty constituted the entire value of the sum paid ; but a trifling impost would not be perceived, as the duty would scarcely make any sensible difference in the price of the article. The bitter pill, which it was intended to make the colonies swallow, was gilded with sugar. The duty was more artfully disguised, than a simple impost. It was, in fact, no additional burden on the consumers of tea, it being only a different *mode* of collecting the duty which had before been paid ; yet this alteration of the mode involved the right and power of parliament to establish a revenue system in America. According to the former regulations, the teas of the India Company were first brought to England, where a duty was paid before they were sent to the colonies. The scheme was merely to change the place and mode of collecting the duty ; it was to be paid in America, instead of England ; for which purpose custom regulations were established, and officers appointed. A duty of three pence on a pound of tea, would not be felt by the people, and this, or rather a greater duty, had been paid before in England ; so that, instead of the burdens of the people being increased, they were rather lightened by this new regulation. So artfully disguised was this scheme. It is a maxim with many politicians, and too generally correct, that the people will not be alarmed or excited by any principle, however it may be fraught with danger ; that they must *feel* and *suffer*, before their fears will arouse them into action. But this maxim did not hold true with the Americans ; they saw the danger, and resolved to resist, at the hazard of their lives, a *principle*, calculated to undermine the foundation of their liberties ; although its operation at the time was not *felt*, in the slightest degree. The resistance of the Americans to the scheme of collecting a duty on tea in America, instead of England, was the resistance of the *principle* which that scheme involved, solely ; as no additional burden was thereby imposed on the people. It is believed that this is the only instance in history, of an entire people being roused to resistance, from measures which were not burdensome or oppressive in their immediate operations, and dangerous only from the principle on which they were founded. This consideration affords the highest evidence of the intelligence of the Amer-



icans, as well as of their extreme jealousy and vigilance, in guarding their rights. That the experienced politician should foresee the ultimate design and tendency of measures, not immediately oppressive, is natural enough ; but that the common people, or rather that the entire population of a country should be aroused to resistance, on account of measures not burdensome or oppressive, but dangerous only from the principle on which they were founded, is unparalleled. It is not, however, to be supposed that the colonists would have been so alarmed and aroused to such a spirit of resistance, by the new regulations as to tea, had it not been for the previous measures of the parent country, evincing, in the clearest manner, a settled design to exercise the power of taxation over them. They considered the new regulations as to tea, as an artful and disguised revenue system, although it imposed no additional duty, and they were determined not to be *cheated* out of their liberties, as they had before resolved not to be frightened out of them.

Measures were immediately adopted to prevent the introduction of the tea into the country, so as to avoid the payment of the duty ; and such was the strength and unanimity of public opinion, that without the aid of law, or rather in opposition to law, they were enabled to render their measures efficient, solely by the force of public sentiment, although measures of all others the most difficult to enforce, as interfering both with the interests and the established habits of the people. In most of the towns from New-Hampshire to Georgia, the people assembled and resolved to discontinue the use of tea, which was now regarded as an herb, (however agreeable as a beverage,) *noxious* to the political constitution. In the large commercial towns, regulations were adopted to prevent the landing of the tea ; committees were appointed to inspect merchant's books, propose tests, and to make use of other means to defeat the designs of Britain. Where it could be done, the consignees of the teas, were persuaded or compelled to resign, or to bind themselves not to act in that capacity. The cargo sent to South-Carolina, was stored, the consignees being constrained to enter into an engagement not to offer any for sale ; and in many of the colonies, the ships were compelled to return without discharging their cargoes. So vigorously were these measures enforced, that during one year, eighty-five pound was the whole amount of duties received. The teas consumed in the colonies, were principally smuggled into the country, by the Dutch and French, who were favored by the inhabitants in evading the revenue laws. During the four or five years that the new system had been in existence, very trifling quantities of teas had been introduced into the colonies, and instead of the restrictive measures being relaxed as was expected in England, they increased in vigor and efficacy, and the quantity of tea introduced had constantly diminished.

As had been the case with other matters, of difference between the two countries, the principle struggle, growing out of the regulations as to tea, occurred at Boston. The other provinces had avoided the alternative which was reserved for this, of

either suffering the teas to be disposed of, or to destroy them, by violent means. Knowing the spirit of the inhabitants of Boston, the India Company had been more cautious as to the cargoes shipped for that port, than those sent to the other provinces ; and the zeal of Governor Hutchinson and the other officers of the crown there, greatly surpassed that of the crown-officers in the other colonies, and was calculated to frustrate the measures of the inhabitants. The tea ships destined to Boston, were all consigned to the sons, cousins, and persons who were the merest tools of Governor Hutchinson. When called on to resign, the only answer they would give was, " that it was not in their power." As the consignees could not be induced or frightened to resign, the next plan was, to compel the vessels to return without landing their detestable cargoes ; but the collector refused to give a clearance without the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles, and the governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, until they were properly qualified from the custom-house ; and to guard against the vessels being taken possession of, and conducted out of the harbour, the governor ordered Admiral Montague, who commanded the naval force, to keep vigilant look out, and to suffer no vessel, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town without a pass signed by himself. The rigorous adherence to these measures, afforded great satisfaction to the governor and his minions, and all the British party ; they flattered themselves that the " Sons of Liberty," after all their clamor, resolutions and schemes to resist the tea system, were out-managed, and that it would be impossible for them to prevent the landing and sale of the obnoxious cargoes. Their measures had been planned so wisely and their execution was entrusted to agents of such known fidelity to the crown, and who were under the immediate influence and control of the governor, they thought there was not a loop-hole whereby the rebellious Americans could escape paying the hateful tax. They did not even dream that an attempt would be made to destroy or throw overboard the offensive article, which covered a tribute to Britain ; for if they had, the vessels would have been guarded. The governor, after all he had witnessed and experienced, judging rather from his feelings than his knowledge, was entirely ignorant of public sentiment, and of the spirit of the people ; he had no idea that they had determined to resist the obnoxious measure, at every hazard, even that of life. Nothing short of this bold step, could prevent the deep-laid scheme, against the liberties of the country from succeeding. It had been rendered impossible that the vessels should return with their cargoes ; and to suffer the tea to be landed and trust to the spirit and unanimity of the inhabitants not to purchase it, would have been to yield the point ; for a small portion of the citizens were in favor of the British, and would of course consume the article, and by fair means or foul, it would have been distributed among others. And it would have been equally impracticable to prevent the tea from being landed ; the most unwearied watching day and night, could not prevent this, as it might be conveyed



ashore, by small quantities in boats in the night season, and at such places as to escape the utmost vigilance. Every other measure had been attempted without success ; the consignees had been urged to decline the commission, and a numerous public meeting of the citizens had been held, who presented a remonstrance to the governor, and urged him to order back the ships without suffering any part of their cargoes to be landed. But his answer satisfied them that he was the adviser of the measure, and determined to carry it into execution. The parties were at issue on the great question on which the liberties of the country hung suspended ; whether Great Britain should exercise the power of taxing the Americans in any way, or not. This question depended on the landing of a few cargoes of tea, which had become contaminated with an unconstitutional tax. The colonists were determined that they would not pay the tax, and the British party were determined to carry into effect the tea regulation, and to frustrate the plans of the Americans. Both parties had taken their measures, and the British party were confident of success ; the contest was advancing to a crisis ; alarm and dismay prevailed ; the deepest anxiety was depicted in every countenance ; had an invading army been in the neighborhood, threatening to sack the town, or had the pestilence which walks in darkness, ravaged its pavilions, greater consternation could not have prevailed ; greater gloom could not overspread the town, or stronger indications been exhibited, of a pending event big with the fate of three millions of people. During this deep and awful suspense, a report was started, which spread with the rapidity of lightning through the town, that Admiral Montague was about to seize the ships and dispose of their cargoes, at public auction, within twenty-four hours ; which was believed to be a cunning device of Hutchinson, as this would as effectually have secured the duties, as if the teas had been sold at the stores of the consignees. This rumor was like an electric shock ; leaving their employments, the people rushed into the streets, and with amazed and terrified countenances, every one seemed to say, what shall we do to prevent the consummation in so bold and daring a manner, of this iniquitous scheme. In a few moments, as if from an instinctive impulse, a vast crowd repaired to one of the most spacious churches in Boston, and organised themselves into a public meeting. Previously to taking any other step, a message was sent to the governor and the consignees, who with difficulty could be found, as they were afraid to encounter even the looks of an indignant and injured people. No satisfactory answers were returned ; but instead of complying with their wishes, whilst the assembled multitude were quietly, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed, consulting on their critical situation, and the measures proper to be adopted, the sheriff entered with an order from the governor, styling them an illegal and seditious assembly, and ordering them immediately to disperse. But he did not bring with him the *posse comitatus*, as the power of the county was already assembled, and it was that, the sheriff was ordered to

disperse : this mandate was treated with deserved contempt and the sheriff hissed out of the house, mortified and chagrined, and a confused murmur followed not only in the house but among the vast multitude without ; but soon order was restored, and the meeting adjourned, without adopting any vote or resolution. The leaders probably supposed that such a meeting was not the place to discuss and devise measures to meet the crisis.

The bold measure was now conceived, and immediately proposed for execution, which surprised and agitated the two countries, and hurried on that memorable revolution which made them "enemies in war, and in peace friends." The success of it, as well as the danger attending it, required secrecy and dispatch. It has never been known with certainty, either who contrived or executed this bold expedient ; but there is no reason to doubt, but that Mr. Samuel Adams and many of the leaders in the political affairs of the day, were its contrivers, and it is known, that the hall of council was in the back room of Edes & Gill's printing-office, at the corner of the alley leading from Court-Street to Brattle-Street Church. It is a singular circumstance, that this daring and desperate measure, for the maintenance of the liberties of the country, should have been counselled and contrived in an editorial closet of a newspaper, which was one of the organs of the public voice, and a vigilant sentinel of the liberties of the people. Since this period many political schemes have originated, in the "back rooms" of printing-offices, but in general of a very different character.

In a few hours after the adjournment of the public meeting, the bold measure, on the success of which the great question of taxation hung suspended, was contrived, matured and ripened for execution ; and the public were surprised with the sudden appearance in the streets, of a large number of *savages*, or persons disguised, clad, and every way counterfeiting the aborigines of the country ; armed with a tomahawk in one hand, and a club over the shoulder, who, in a silent and solemn manner, not a voice being heard, marched in Indian file, through the streets amidst a crowd of astonished spectators, who knew not what to think of so unexpected and strange an exhibition ; and its novelty and the surprise which it occasioned, may have prevented any steps being taken to oppose their design. The *Indians*, whilst strongly attached to tobacco, in this instance at least appear to have had a mortal antipathy to *tea* ; and as though attracted by its noxious qualities, they proceeded directly towards the wharves where the tea ships lay ; boarded them, demanded the keys, and without the least hesitation or delay, knocked open the chests, and emptied their contents, duties and all, into the ocean, comprising several thousand weight of the finest teas. The deed was done in the face of the world, and although surrounded by the king's ships, no opposition was made or attempted ; all was silence and amazement. Thus the teas which were designed as a means of extorting tribute from the Americans, become an offering to the "spirits of the vasty deep," and a sacrifice to the liberties of the country. The "Indians" having



DESTRUCTION OF THE TEA IN BOSTON HARBOUR.







effected their object, shewed no marks of triumph; no savage war-whoop was heard; nor did they commit any other violence or disorder, but in the same silent, solemn and orderly manner, marched back through the town, followed by a vast crowd. No movements on the part of the government, or disturbance by the people, followed this event; and it was observed at the time, that the stillest night succeeded, which Boston had enjoyed for several months.

No persons assisted the savages, in the destruction of the tea, except some boys or young men, who had assembled on the occasion, and voluntarily took a part in what was going on; one of these youths, collected the tea which fell into his own shoes and those of several of his companions, put it in a phial and sealed it up; which is now in his possession, containing the same obnoxious tea, which in this instance was considered as more dangerous to the political health and constitution of the people, even than *strong drink*. The number of the savages, manufactured for the occasion, has been variously estimated, from sixty to eighty: although several persons have been mentioned as among the number, none of them have ever been known with certainty; there are many and obvious reasons, why secrecy then, and concealment since were necessary. Not any of those who it has been confidently asserted were of the party, have admitted the fact except some of the boys. Nearly all of the disguised persons have left this scene of strife, and their secret has died with them; and what few remain, if any, will probably be as prudent as those who have gone before them, and like them will suffer their knowledge to be buried with them, so that the great secret will shortly be beyond the reach of human research. The success of this bold and daring measure, astonished Governor Hutchinson and the British party, and seemed to convince him, that the "Sons of Liberty" were not quite so contemptible as he had represented them in his letters to the ministry; and it even astonished the whigs, in the other colonies, and contributed to fan the flames of liberty, and give them a deeper glow, and more intense heat.

When the intelligence of this event reached England, accompanied with all the exaggeration and colouring which Hutchinson could give to it, it produced the utmost excitement, and indignation with the ministerial party, and even the opponents of the American revenue system, could not justify so rash and desperate a measure. Parliament at once determined to crush the devoted town, which was the seat and cause of this high handed resistance to its supremacy. Its omnipotent power, and all the terrors of its wrath, were to be concentrated and directed against this rebellious town. A bill was immediately introduced to "discontinue the landing and discharging, landing and shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town of Boston. or within the harbor." This bill, called the "Boston Port Bill," passed on the 25th of March, 1774, and when it was known, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. A general meeting was called, and spirited resolutions adopted, expressive, in strong terms,

of their sense of the oppressive measure, and they requested all the colonies to unite in an engagement to discontinue all importations from Great Britain ; and most of the colonies resolved to make common cause with Massachusetts, in her opposition to the unconstitutional measures of parliament. The first of June, when the port bill was to go into operation, was appointed to be kept as a day of fasting and prayer. This act was soon followed by another, " for the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay ;" the object of which was to alter the charter, so as to make the judges and sheriffs dependant on the king, and removeable at his pleasure. And this act was soon succeeded by another, which provided, that any persons indicted for murder, or other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistrates, in enforcing the laws, might be sent by the governor either to any other colony, or to Great Britain for his trial. The Quebec Bill followed in rapid succession, enlarging the bounds of that province, and conferring many privileges on the Roman Catholics ; the design of which was to secure the attachment of that province, and prevent its joining with the colonies in their measures of resistance. These measures instead of intimidating the colonies into submission, only confirmed their fears of the settled designs of Great Britain to deprive them of their chartered rights, and reduce the colonies to the lowest state of political degradation and oppression. A sense of common danger led to an extensive correspondence, which resulted in the opinion that it was expedient to convene a general congress, to consist of deputies from all the colonies. This congress met at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774 ; and comprised among its members, some of the most distinguished patriots, statesmen and orators in the country, or perhaps in any other. Notwithstanding the ferment which prevailed in most of the colonies, their proceedings were characterised by coolness, unanimity and firmness.

They published a long and solemn declaration of rights, as British subjects, and maintained in the strongest terms, their exemption from taxation by parliament ; besides which, they prepared a petition to the king, which was refused to be answered ; an address to the *people* of Great Britain, and another to the people of America. These documents were drawn up with a masterly hand, and exhibited great dignity and ability, and were in every respect worthy of the men who had confided to them the liberties of their country, and the destinies of three millions of their countrymen, threatened with slavery.

The proceedings of congress did not tend to allay public feeling, and as the royal agents in Massachusetts seemed determined to push matters to extremities, and reduce the people to unconditional submission, by arbitrary and forcible means, every thing now wore the appearance of civil war. A new council, and new judges were appointed by the crown ; and the latter attempted to enter upon the execution of their offices ; but the juries refused to be sworn under them ; the people in some counties assembled to prevent their proceedings, and in Berk-



shire succeeded, thus setting an example, which was afterwards followed by Shays' men, in violation of the laws of the state. About this time the famous "Tree of Liberty," in Boston, which had been pruned and ornamented with so much pride and care, "fell a victim to British vengeance, or to some individual to whom its shade had become offensive."

Previously to this period, General Gage had succeeded Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts; and, apprehending danger from a general muster of the militia, he caused the magazines and ammunition at Charlestown and Cambridge, to be removed to Boston, and fortified the neck of land which joins Boston to the mainland, at Roxbury. These measures occasioned an universal panic; delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk met, and spirited resolutions, and a remonstrance to the governor, were adopted. The general assembly had been summoned to meet at Salem; but from the turbulence of the times, the governor issued his proclamation, countermanding their meeting; yet, in defiance of the governor's mandate, ninety members met, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, chose Mr. Hancock president, and adjourned to Concord, nineteen miles from Boston. They fearlessly proceeded to business; after addressing the governor, and reiterating their grievances; in the face of British law and British troops, they proceed to adopt the first measures, which were taken, directly and avowedly preparatory to an appeal to the sword, in defence of their rights and liberties; they regulated the militia, made provision for furnishing the people with arms, and for supplying the treasury; and such was the enthusiasm of the people, that their recommendations had the force of law. Governor Gage was filled with rage at these daring proceedings, and issued a proclamation, in which he insinuated that they amounted to rebellion.

Early in 1775, parliament passed the fishery bills, which prohibited the colonies from trading in fish with Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, and from taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland. These acts were intended to operate on the town of Boston, which had become the devoted object of ministerial wrath. The various statutes, which were passed, occasioned deep and general distress in Boston and its vicinity; but their brethren in the other colonies sympathized with them, and promptly supplied them with provisions of every description for the relief of the sufferers.

This policy of the British government was not only oppressive, but mean and contemptible. *Partial* legislation is always odious and tyrannical; yet it consisted with the justice and dignity of the British nation; and a series of acts were passed, and the power of the nation exerted, to crush the town of Boston, because it had shewn a more determined spirit of resistance to their oppressive and unconstitutional measures than had appeared in other places. The ministry were not sensible that the colonies considered themselves all engaged in a common cause; they were in hopes to humble and crush the rebellious inhabitants of that devoted town, which they thought would be such a terrific example as would

frighten all the colonies into submission. But their wicked designs recoiled on the heads of their authors ; for these oppressive measures towards the Bostonians, only served to exasperate the people throughout all the colonies, who regarded them as cruel and detestable.

In March 1775, the public indignation was greatly excited by the following base and most shameful transactions :—

\* The people from the country, whose business called them into Boston, were suspected by the officers of purchasing guns from their soldiers. In order to furnish an opportunity to inflict punishment, and to raise occasion for a serious quarrel, Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbit, of the forty-seventh regiment, ordered a soldier to offer a countryman an old rusty musket. A man from Billerica was caught by this bait, and purchased the gun for three dollars. The unfortunate man was immediately seized by Nesbit and confined in the guard house all night. Early next morning they stripped him entirely naked, covered him over with warm tar, and then with feathers, placed him on a cart and conducted him through the streets as far as liberty-tree, where the people began to collect in vast numbers, and the military, fearing for their own safety, dismissed the man, and retreated to their barracks. The party consisted of about thirty grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, twenty drums and fifes playing the rogue's march, headed by the redoubtable Nesbit with a drawn sword ! What an honorable deed for a British field officer and grenadiers ! The selectmen of Billerica remonstrated with General Gage respecting this outrage, but obtained no satisfaction.\*

It was about this time that the following ludicrous occurrence took place :—

“ Some British officers, soon after Gage's arrival in Boston, walking on Beacon Hill, after sunset, were affrighted by noises in the air, (supposed to be flying bugs and beetles,) which they took to be the sound of bullets. They left the hill with great precipitation, spread the alarm in their encampment, and wrote terrible accounts to England of being shot at with air-guns, as appeared by their letters, extracts of which were soon after published in London papers. Indeed, for some time they really believed that the Americans were possessed of a kind of magic white powder, which exploded and killed without a report.” In that much celebrated and admirable poem of the day, M'Fingal, the circumstance is thus satirized :

“ No more the British colonel runs  
From whizzing beetles as air guns ;  
Thinks horn-bugs, bullets, or through fear  
Musketoos takes for musketeers ;  
Nor 'scapes, as if you'd gain'd supplies  
From Beelzebub's whole host of flies,  
No bug these warlike hearts appals  
They better know the sound of balls.”

The breach between Britain and the colonies had now become so wide, as with the mass of the people, nearly to exclude

\* Thacher's Military Journal.

all ideas of conciliation ; and both parties began to make preparations for an appeal to the sword. No alternative was left the Americans but slavery, or resistance by force ; measures were adopted for training the militia to the use of arms, to encourage the manufacture of gun-powder, and for collecting all kinds of military stores ; and committees of public safety were appointed in all the towns in the province. The British government sent out a re-enforcement of troops to Boston, and in the mean time Governor Gage attempted to counteract the designs and measures of the provincials, and particularly to seize or destroy their military stores, and thus to deprive them of the means of resistance. To destroy the military stores at Concord, General Gage despatched in a secret manner, a regiment of grenadiers, who undertook to disperse, and fired upon a party of militia at Lexington, several of whom were killed, which was the *first blood* spilt in that memorable war and revolution, that separated Great Britain and America forever ; and gave to the latter not only a rank among the nations of the earth, but what only can exalt a nation—LIBERTY and *free institutions*, which are the durable foundations of its glory and rising prosperity ; its tranquillity and happiness, its increasing population and wealth, the rapidity of which is unexampled in the annals of the world.





## PART I.

THE POLITICAL LIVES AND PUBLIC CHARACTERS

OF THE

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES,

AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MEN.

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### GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.

First President of the United States.

“GEORGE WASHINGTON, commander in chief of the American army during the war with Great Britain, and first president of the United States, was the third son of Mr. Augustine Washington, and was born at Bridges Creek, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, February 22d, 1732. His great grandfather had emigrated to that place from the north of England about the year 1657. At the age of ten years he lost his father, and the patrimonial estate descended to his elder brother, Mr. Lawrence Washington, who in the year 1740 had been engaged in the expedition against Carthagen. In honor of the British admiral, who commanded the fleet, employed in that enterprise, the estate was called Mount Vernon. At the age of fifteen, agreeably to the wishes of his brother as well as to his own urgent request to enter into the British navy, the place of a midshipman in a vessel of war, then stationed on the coast of Virginia, was obtained for him. Every thing was in readiness for his departure, when the fears of a timid and affectionate mother prevailed upon him to abandon his proposed career on the ocean, and were the means of retaining him upon the land to be the future vindicator of his country's rights. All the advantages of education, which he enjoyed, were derived from a private tutor, who instructed him in the English literature and the general principles of science, as well as in morality and religion. After his disappointment with regard to entering the navy, he devoted much of his time to the study of

the mathematics; and in the practice of his profession as a surveyor, he had an opportunity of acquiring that information respecting the value of vacant lands, which afterwards greatly contributed to the increase of his private fortune. At the age of nineteen, when the militia of Virginia were to be trained for actual service, he was appointed an adjutant-general with the rank of major. It was for a very short time that he discharged the duties of this office. In the year 1753, the plan formed by France for connecting Canada with Louisiana by a line of posts, and thus of enclosing the British colonies, and of establishing her influence over the numerous tribes of Indians on the frontiers, began to be developed. In the prosecution of this design, possession had been taken of a tract of land, then believed to be within the province of Virginia. Mr. Dinwiddie, the lieutenant-governor, being determined to remonstrate against the supposed encroachment, and violation of the treaties between the two countries, despatched Major Washington through the wilderness to the Ohio, to deliver a letter to the commanding officer of the French, and also to explore the country. This trust of danger and fatigue he executed with great ability. He left Williamsburg October 31, 1753, the very day, on which he received his commission, and at the frontier settlement of the English engaged guides to conduct him over the Alleghany mountains. After passing them he pursued his route to the Monongahela, examining the country with a military eye, and taking the most judicious means for securing the friendship of the Indians. He selected the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany River as a position, which ought to be immediately possessed and fortified. At this place the French very soon erected Fort du Quesne, which fell into the hands of the English in 1758, and was called by them Fort Pitt. Pursuing his way up the Alleghany to French Creek, he found at a fort upon this stream the commanding officer, to whom he delivered the letter from Mr. Dinwiddie. On his return he encountered great difficulties and dangers. As the snow was deep and the horses weak from fatigue, he left his attendants at the mouth of French Creek, and set out on foot, with his papers and provisions in his pack, accompanied only by his pilot, Mr. Gist. At a place upon the Alleghany, called Murderingtown, they fell in with a hostile Indian, who was one of a party then lying in wait, and who fired upon them not ten steps distant. They took him into custody and kept him until nine o'clock, and le-

him go. To avoid the pursuit, which they presumed would be commenced in the morning, they travelled all night. On reaching the Monongahela, they had a hard day's work to make a raft with a hatchet. In attempting to cross the river to reach a trader's house, they were enclosed by masses of ice. In order to stop the raft, Major Washington put down his setting pole; but the ice came with such force against it, as to jerk him into the water. He saved himself by seizing one of the raft logs. With difficulty they landed on an island, where they passed the night. The cold was so severe, that the pilot's hands and feet were frozen. The next day they crossed the river upon the ice. Washington arrived at Williamsburg January 16, 1754. His journal, which evinced the solidity of his judgment and his fortitude, was published.

As the French seemed disposed to remain on the Ohio, it was determined to raise a regiment of three hundred men to maintain the claims of the British crown. The command was given to Mr. Fry, and Major Washington, who was appointed lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies early in April, 1754, in advance of the other troops. A few miles west of the Great Meadows he surprised a French encampment in a dark, rainy night, and only one man escaped. Before the arrival of the two remaining companions Mr. Fry died, and the command devolved on Colonel Washington. Being joined by two other companies of regular troops from South Carolina and New-York, after erecting a small stockade at the Great Meadows, he proceeded towards Fort du Quesne, which had been built but a short time, with the intention of dislodging the French. He had marched only thirteen miles to the westernmost foot of the Laurel Hill, before he received information of the approach of the enemy with superior numbers, and was induced to return to his stockade. He began a ditch around it, and called it Fort Necessity; but the next day, July third, he was attacked by fifteen hundred men. His own troops were only about four hundred in number. The action commenced at ten in the morning and lasted until dark. A part of the Americans fought within the fort, and a part in the ditch filled with mud and water. Colonel Washington was himself on the outside of the fort during the whole day. The enemy fought under cover of the trees and high grass. In the course of the night articles of capitulation were agreed upon. The garrison were allowed to retain their arms and



baggage, and to march unmolested to the inhabited parts of Virginia. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was supposed to be about a hundred, and that of the enemy about two hundred. In a few months afterwards orders were received for settling the rank of the officers, and those, who were commissioned by the king, being directed to take the rank of the provincial officers, Col. Washington indignantly resigned his commission. He now retired to Mount Vernon, that estate by the death of his brother having devolved upon him. But in the spring of 1755, he accepted an invitation from Gen. Braddock to enter his family as a volunteer aid-de-camp, in his expedition to the Ohio. He proceeded with him to Wills' Creek, afterwards called Fort Cumberland, in April. After the troops had marched a few miles from this place, he was seized with a raging fever ; but refusing to remain behind he was conveyed in a covered waggon. By his advice twelve hundred men were detached, in order, by a rapid movement, to reach Fort du Quesne before an expected re-inforcement should be received at that place. These disencumbered troops were commanded by Braddock himself, and Col. Washington, though still extremely ill, insisted upon proceeding with them. After they arrived upon the Monongahela, he advised the general to employ the ranging companies of Virginia, to scour the woods and to prevent ambuscades ; but his advice was not followed. On the ninth of July, when the army was within seven miles of Fort du Quesne, the enemy commenced a sudden and furious attack, being concealed by the wood and high grass. In a short time Col. Washington was the only aid, that was unwounded, and on him devolved the whole duty of carrying the orders of the commander in chief. He was cool and fearless. Though he had two horses killed under him, and four balls through his coat, he escaped unhurt, while every other officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Doctor Craik, the physician, who attended him in his last sickness, was present in this battle, and says, " I expected every moment to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." After an action of three hours the troops gave way in all directions, and Colonel Washington and two others brought off Braddock, who had been mortally wounded. He attempted to rally the retreating troops ; but, as he says himself, it was like endeavoring " to stop the wild bears of the mountains." The conduct of the re-

gular troops was most cowardly. The enemy were few in numbers and had no expectation of victory.

In a sermon, occasioned by this expedition, the Rev. Dr. Davies, of Hanover county, thus prophetically expressed himself; "as a remarkable instance of patriotism, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Col. Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." For this purpose he was indeed preserved, and at the end of twenty years he began to render to his country more important services, than the minister of Jesus could have anticipated. From 1755 to 1758 he commanded a regiment, which was raised for the protection of the frontiers, and during this period he was incessantly occupied in efforts to shield the exposed settlements from the incursions of the savages. His exertions were in a great degree ineffectual, in consequence of the errors and the pride of government, and of the impossibility of guarding, with a few troops, an extended territory from an enemy, which was averse to open warfare. He, in the most earnest manner, recommended offensive measures as the only method of giving complete protection to the scattered settlements.

In the year 1758, to his great joy, it was determined to undertake another expedition against Fort du Quesne, and he engaged in it with zeal. Early in July the troops were assembled at Fort Cumberland; and here, against all the remonstrances and arguments of Col. Washington, Gen. Forbes resolved to open a new road to the Ohio, instead of taking the old route. Such was the predicted delay, occasioned by this measure, that in November it was resolved not to proceed further during that campaign. But intelligence of the weakness of the garrison induced an alteration of the plan of passing the winter in the wilderness. By slow marches the army was enabled, on the twenty-fifth of November, to reach Fort du Quesne, of which peaceable possession was taken, as the enemy, on the preceding night, after setting it on fire, had abandoned it, and proceeded down the Ohio. The works in this place were repaired, and its name was changed to that of Fort Pitt. The success of the expedition was to be attributed to the British fleet, which intercepted reinforcements, destined for Canada, and to events in the northern colonies. The great object, which he had been anxious to effect, being now accomplished, and his health being enfeebled,

bled, Col. Washington resigned his commission as commander in chief of all the troops raised in Virginia.

Soon after his resignation he was married to the widow of Mr. Custis, a young lady, to whom he had for some time been strongly attached, and who, to a large fortune and a fine person, added those amiable accomplishments, which fill with silent felicity the scenes of domestic life. His attention for several years was principally directed to the management of his estate, which had now become considerable. He had nine thousand acres under his own management. So great a part was cultivated, that in one year he raised seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of Indian corn. His slaves and other persons employed by him, amounted to near a thousand; and the woollen and linen cloth necessary for their use was chiefly manufactured on the estate. He was at this period a respectable member of the legislature of Virginia, in which he took a decided part in opposition to the principle of taxation, asserted by the British Parliament. He also acted as a judge of a county court. In 1774 he was elected a member of the first congress, and was placed on all those committees, whose duty it was to make arrangements for defence. In the following year, after the battle of Lexington, when it was determined by congress to resort to arms, Colonel Washington was unanimously elected commander in chief of the army of the united colonies. All were satisfied as to his qualifications, and the delegates from New-England were particularly pleased with his election, as it would tend to unite the southern colonies cordially in the war. He accepted the appointment with diffidence, and expressed his intention of receiving no compensation for his services, and only a mere discharge of his expenses. He immediately repaired to Cambridge, in the neighborhood of Boston, where he arrived on the second of July. He formed the army into three divisions, in order the most effectually to enclose the enemy, entrusting the division at Roxbury to Gen. Ward, the division on Prospect and Winter Hills to Gen. Lee, and commanding himself the centre at Cambridge. Here he had to struggle with great difficulties, with the want of ammunition, clothing, and magazines, defect of arms and discipline, and the evils of short enlistments; but instead of yielding to despondence he bent the whole force of his mind to overcome them. He soon made the alarming discovery, that there was only sufficient pow-



der on hand to furnish the army with nine cartridges for each man. With the greatest caution to keep this fact a secret, the utmost exertions were employed to procure a supply. A vessel, which was despatched to Africa, obtained in exchange for New-England rum all the gun-powder in the British factories; and in the beginning of winter captain Manly captured an ordnance brig, which furnished the American army with the precise articles, of which it was in the greatest want. In September, General Washington despatched Arnold on an expedition against Quebec. In February, 1776, he proposed to a council of his officers to cross the ice and attack the enemy in Boston, but they unanimously disapproved of the daring measure. It was however soon resolved to take possession of the heights of Dorchester. This was done without discovery on the night of the fourth of March, and on the seventeenth the enemy found it necessary to evacuate the town. The recovery of Boston induced congress to pass a vote of thanks to Gen. Washington and his brave army.

In the belief, that the efforts of the British would be directed towards the Hudson, he hastened the army to New-York, where he himself arrived on the fourteenth of April. He made every exertion to fortify the city, and attention was paid to the forts in the Highlands. While he met the most embarrassing difficulties, a plan was formed to assist the enemy in seizing his person, and some of his own guards engaged in the conspiracy; but it was discovered, and some, who were concerned in it, were executed.

In the beginning of July, Gen. Howe landed his troops at Staten Island. His brother, Lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, soon arrived; and as both were commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, the latter addressed a letter upon the subject to "George Washington, Esq." but the general refused to receive it, as it did not acknowledge the public character, with which he was invested by congress, in which character only he could have any intercourse with his lordship. Another letter was sent to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." This for the same reason was rejected.

After the disastrous battle of Brooklyn, on the twenty-seventh of August, in which Stirling and Sullivan were taken prisoners, and of which he was only a spectator, he withdrew the troops from Long-Island, and in a few days he resolved to withdraw from New-York. At Kipp's Bay, about three miles from the city, some works had been thrown up

to oppose the enemy ; but, on their approach, the American troops fled with precipitation. Washington rode towards the lines, and made every exertion to prevent the disgraceful flight. He drew his sword and threatened to run the cowards through ; he cocked and snapped his pistols ; but it was all in vain. Such was the state of his mind, at this moment, that he turned his horse towards the advancing enemy, apparently with the intention of rushing upon death. His aids now seized the bridle of his horse and rescued him from destruction. New-York was, on the same day, September the fifteenth, evacuated. In October he retreated to the White Plains, where, on the twenty-eighth, a considerable action took place, in which the Americans were overpowered. After the loss of Forts Washington and Lee he passed into New-Jersey, in November, and was pursued by a triumphant and numerous army. His army did not amount to three thousand, and it was daily diminishing ; his men, as the winter commenced, were barefooted and almost naked, destitute of tents and of utensils, with which to dress their scanty provisions ; and every circumstance tended to fill the mind with despondence. But Gen. Washington was undismayed and firm. He showed himself to his enfeebled army with a serene and unembarrassed countenance, and they were inspired with the resolution of their commander. On the eighth of December he was obliged to cross the Delaware ; but he had the precaution to secure the boats for seventy miles upon the river. While the British were waiting for the ice to afford them a passage, as his own army had been re-enforced by several thousand men, he formed the resolution of carrying the cantonments of the enemy by surprise. On the night of the twenty-fifth of December he crossed the river, nine miles above Trenton, in a storm of snow, mingled with hail and rain, with about two thousand and four hundred men. Two other detachments were unable to effect a passage. In the morning, precisely at eight o'clock, he surprised Trenton, and took a thousand Hessians prisoners, a thousand stand of arms, and six field pieces. Twenty of the enemy were killed. Of the Americans two privates were killed, and two frozen to death ; and one officer and three or four privates were wounded. On the same day he re-crossed the Delaware with the fruits of his enterprise ; but in two or three days passed again into New-Jersey, and concentrated his forces, amounting to five thousand, at Trenton. On the approach of a superior enemy, under Cornwallis, January 2, 1777, he drew up his men behind Assumpsinck Creek. He

expected an attack in the morning, which would probably result in a ruinous defeat. At this moment, when it was hazardous, if not impracticable to return into Pennsylvania, he formed the resolution of getting into the rear of the enemy, and thus stop them in their progress towards Philadelphia. In the night he silently decamped, taking a circuitous route through Allen's Town to Princeton. A sudden change of the weather to severe cold rendered the roads favorable for his march. About sunrise his van met a British detachment, on its way to join Cornwallis, and was defeated by it; but as he came up he exposed himself to every danger, and gained a victory. With three hundred prisoners he then entered Princeton.

During this march many of his soldiers were without shoes, and their feet left the marks of blood upon the frozen ground. This hardship, and their want of repose, induced him to lead his army to a place of security on the road to Morristown. Cornwallis, in the morning, broke up his camp, and alarmed for his stores at Brunswick urged the pursuit. Thus the military genius of the American commander, under the blessing of divine Providence, rescued Philadelphia from the threatened danger, obliged the enemy, which had overspread New Jersey, to return to the neighborhood of New York, and revived the desponding spirit of his country. Having accomplished these objects, he retired to Morristown, where he caused his whole army to be inoculated for the small-pox, and thus was freed from the apprehension of a calamity, which might impede his operations during the next campaign.

On the last of May he removed his army to Middlebrook, about ten miles from Brunswick, where he fortified himself very strongly. An ineffectual attempt was made by Sir William Howe to draw him from his position, by marching towards Philadelphia; but after Howe's return to New-York, he moved towards the Hudson, in order to defend the passes in the mountains, in the expectation that a junction with Burgoyne, who was then upon the lakes, would be attempted. After the British general sailed from New-York, and entered the Chesapeake in August, General Washington marched immediately for the defence of Philadelphia. On the eleventh of September, he was defeated at Brandywine, with the loss of nine hundred in killed and wounded. A few days afterward, as he was pursued, he turned upon the enemy, determined upon another engage-



ment ; but a heavy rain so damaged the arms and ammunition, that he was under the absolute necessity of again retreating. Philadelphia was entered by Cornwallis on the twenty-sixth of September. On the fourth of October, the American commander made a well planned attack upon the British camp at Germantown ; but in consequence of the darkness of the morning, and the imperfect discipline of his troops, it terminated in the loss of twelve hundred men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. In December, he went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between twenty and thirty miles from Philadelphia. Here his army was in the greatest distress for want of provisions, and he was reduced to the necessity of sending out parties to seize what they could find. About the same time a combination, in which some members of congress were engaged, was formed to remove the commander in chief, and to appoint in his place Gates, whose successes of late had given him a high reputation. But the name of Washington was too dear to the great body of Americans, to admit of such a change. Notwithstanding the discordant materials, of which his army was composed, there was something in his character, which enabled him to attach both his officers and soldiers so strongly to him, that no distress could weaken their affection, nor impair the veneration, in which he was generally held. Without this attachment to him, the army must have been dissolved. General Conway, who was concerned in this faction, being wounded in a duel with Gen. Cadwallader, and thinking his wound mortal, wrote to General Washington, ‘ You are, in my eyes, the great and good man.’ On the first of February, 1778, there were about four thousand men in camp, unfit for duty for want of clothes. Of these, scarcely a man had a pair of shoes. The hospitals also were filled with the sick. At this time the enemy, if they had marched out of their winter quarters, would easily have dispersed the American army. The apprehension of the approach of a French fleet inducing the British to concentrate their forces, when they evacuated Philadelphia on the seventeenth of June, and marched towards New York, General Washington followed them. Contrary to the advice of a council, he engaged in the battle of Monmouth on the twenty-eighth ; the result of which made an impression favorable to the cause of America. He slept in his cloak on the field of battle, intending to renew the attack the

next morning ; but at midnight the British marched off in such silence, as not to be discovered. Their loss, in killed, was about three hundred ; and that of the Americans sixty-nine. As the campaign now closed in the middle states, the American army went into winter quarters, in the neighborhood of the Highlands upon the Hudson. Thus, after the vicissitudes of two years, both armies were brought back to the point, from which they set out. During the year 1779, General Washington remained in the neighbourhood of New York. In January 1780, in a winter memorable for its severity, his utmost exertions were necessary to save the army from dissolution. The soldiers, in general, submitted with heroic patience to the want of provisions and clothes. At one time they ate every kind of horse-food but hay. Their sufferings at length were so great, that in March two of the Connecticut regiments mutinied ; but the mutiny was suppressed, and the ringleaders secured. In September the treachery of Arnold was detected. In the winter of 1781, such were again the privations of the army, that a part of the Pennsylvania line revolted, and marched home. Such, however, was still their patriotism, that they delivered up some British emissaries to General Wayne, who hanged them as spies. Committing the defence of the posts on the Hudson to General Heath, General Washington in August marched with Count Rochambeau for the Chesapeake, to co-operate with the French fleet there. The siege of Yorktown commenced on the twenty-eighth of September, and on the nineteenth of October, he reduced Cornwallis to the necessity of surrendering, with upwards of seven thousand men, to the combined armies of America and France. The day after the capitulation, he ordered that those who were under arrest should be pardoned, and that divine service, in acknowledgment of the interposition of Providence, should be performed in all the brigades and divisions. This event filled America with joy, and was the means of terminating the war.

Few events of importance took place in 1782. In March, 1783, he exhibited his characteristic firmness and decision, in opposing an attempt to produce a mutiny by anonymous letters. His address to his officers, on the occasion, displays in a remarkable degree his prudence, and the correctness of his judgment. When he began to read it, he found himself in some degree embarrassed, by the

imperfection of his sight. Taking out his spectacles, he said, 'These eyes, my friends, have grown dim, and these locks white in the service of my country; yet I have never doubted her justice.' He only could have repressed the spirit, which was breaking forth. On the nineteenth of April, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American camp. In June he addressed a letter to the governors of the several states, congratulating them on the result of the contest in the establishment of independence, and recommending an indissoluble union of the states, under one federal head, a sacred regard to public justice, the adoption of a proper peace establishment, and the prevalence of a friendly disposition among the people of the several states. It was with keen distress, as well as with pride and admiration, that he saw his brave and veteran soldiers, who had suffered so much, and who had borne the heat and burden of the war, returning peaceably to their homes, without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets. On the twenty-fifth of November, New-York was evacuated, and he entered it, accompanied by Governor Clinton, and many respectable citizens. On the fourth of December, he took his farewell of his brave comrades in arms. At noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances' tavern, and their beloved commander soon entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass with wine he turned to them and said, 'With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish, that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' Having drunk, he added, 'I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, General Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner, he took his leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the silence and the tenderness of the scene. Ye men who delight in blood, slaves of ambition! When your work of carnage was finished, could ye thus part with your companions in crime? Leaving the room General Washington passed through the corps of light-infantry, walked to White-hall, where a barge waited to carry him



to Powles' Hook. The whole company followed in mute procession, with dejected countenances. When he entered the barge, he turned to them, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu; receiving from them the same last affectionate compliment. On the twenty-third of December, he resigned his commission to congress, then assembled at Annapolis. He delivered a short address on the occasion, in which he said, 'I consider it an indispensable duty, to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.' He then retired to Mount Vernon, to enjoy again the pleasures of domestic life. Here the expressions of the gratitude of his countrymen, in affectionate addresses, poured in upon him, and he received every testimony of respect and veneration.

In his retirement, however, he could not overlook the public interests. He was desirous of opening, by water carriage, a communication between the Atlantic and the western portions of our country, in order to prevent the diversion of trade down the Mississippi, and to Canada; from which he predicted consequences injurious to the union. Through his influence, two companies were formed for promoting inland navigation. The legislature of Virginia presented him with three hundred shares in them, which he appropriated to public uses. In the year 1786, he was convinced, with other statesmen, of the necessity of substituting a more vigorous general government in the place of the impotent articles of confederation. Still he was aware of the danger of running from one extreme to another. He exclaims in a letter to Mr. Jay, 'What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told, that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable, and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems, founded on the basis of equal liberty, are merely ideal and fallacious.' In the following year, he was persuaded to take a seat in the convention, which formed the present constitution of the United States; and he presided in that body. In 1789, he was unanimously elected the first President of

the United States. It was with great reluctance, that he accepted this office. His feelings as he said himself, were like those of a culprit, going to the place of execution. But the voice of a whole continent, the pressing recommendation of his particular friends, and the apprehension, that he would otherwise be considered as unwilling to hazard his reputation in executing a system, which he had assisted in forming, determined him to accept the appointment. In April he left Mount Vernon to proceed to New-York, and to enter on the duties of his high office. He every where received testimonies of respect and love. At Trenton, the gentler sex rewarded him for his successful enterprise, and the protection which he afforded them twelve years before. On the bridge over the creek, which passes through the town, was erected a triumphal arch, ornamented with laurels and flowers, and supported by thirteen pillars, each encircled with wreaths of evergreen. On the front of the arch was inscribed, in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS WILL BE THE  
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

At this place he was met by a party of matrons, leading their daughters who were dressed in white, and who, with baskets of flowers in their hands, sung with exquisite sweetness the following ode, written for the occasion :—

Welcome, mighty chief, once more  
Welcome to this grateful shore ;  
Now no mercenary foe  
Aims again the fatal blow,  
Aims at **THEE** the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,  
Those thy conquering arms did save,  
Build for thee triumphal bowers ;  
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,  
Strew your **HERO's** way with flowers.

At the last line the flowers were strewed before him. After receiving such proofs of affectionate attachment, he arrived at New-York, and was inaugurated first president of the United States on the thirtieth of April. In making the necessary arrangements of his household he publicly announced, that neither visits of business nor of ceremony would be expected on Sunday, as he wished to reserve that day sacredly to himself.

At the close of his first term of four years, he prepared a valedictory address to the American people, anxious to return again to the scenes of domestic life; but the earnest entreaties of his friends, and the peculiar situation of his country, induced him to be a candidate for a second election. During his administration of eight years, the labor of establishing the different departments of a new government was accomplished; and he exhibited the greatest firmness, wisdom, and independence. He was an American, and he chose not to involve his country in the contests of Europe. He accordingly, with the unanimous advice of his cabinet, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph, issued a proclamation of neutrality, April 22, 1793, a few days after he heard of the commencement of the war between England and France. This measure contributed, in a great degree, to the prosperity of America. Its adoption was the more honorable to the president, as the general sympathy was in favor of the sister republic, against whom it was said Great Britain had commenced the war for the sole purpose of imposing upon her a monarchical form of government. He preferred the peace and welfare of his country to the breath of popular applause. Another act, in which he proved himself to be less regardful of the public partialities and prejudices, than of what he conceived to be the public good, was the ratification of the British treaty. The English government had neglected to surrender the western posts, and by commercial restrictions, and in other ways, had evinced a hostile spirit towards this country. To avert the calamity of another war, Mr. Jay was nominated as envoy extraordinary in April, 1794. In June, 1795, the treaty, which Mr. Jay had made, was submitted to the senate, and was ratified by that body on the condition, that one article should be altered.—While the president was deliberating upon it, an incorrect copy of the instrument was made public by a senator, and the whole country was thrown into a state of extreme irritation. At this period, he, in August, conditionally ratified it, and in February, 1796, when it was returned from his Britannic Majesty with the proposed alteration, he declared it to be the law of the land. After this transaction the house of representatives requested him to lay before them the papers relating to the treaty, but he with great independence refused to comply with their request, as they could have no claim to an inspection of them except upon a vote of impeachment, and as a compli-



ance would establish a dangerous precedent. He had before this shown a disposition to maintain the authority, vested in his office, by declining to affix his signature to a bill which had passed both houses.

As the period for a new election of a President of the United States approached, and after plain indications that the public voice would be in his favor, and when he probably would be chosen for the third time unanimously, he determined irrevocably to withdraw to the shades of private life. He published, in September, 1796, his farewell address to the people of the United States, which ought to be engraven upon the hearts of his countrymen. In the most earnest and affectionate manner he called upon them to cherish an immoveable attachment to the national union, to watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, to discountenance even the suggestion, that it could in any event be abandoned, and indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest. Overgrown military establishments he represented as particularly hostile to republican liberty.—While he recommended the most implicit obedience to the acts of the established government, and reprobated all obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities; he wished also to guard against the spirit of innovation upon the principles of the constitution. Aware that the energy of the system might be enfeebled by alterations, he thought that no change should be made without an evident necessity, and that in so extensive a country as much vigor as is consistent with liberty is indispensable. On the other hand, he pointed out the danger of a real despotism by breaking down the partitions between the several departments of government, by destroying the reciprocal checks, and consolidating the different powers. Against the spirit of party, so peculiarly baneful in an elective government, he uttered his most solemn remonstrances, as well as against inveterate antipathies or passionate attachments in respect to foreign nations. While he thought that the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly and impartially awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, he wished that good faith and justice should be observed towards all nations, and peace and harmony cultivated. In his opinion, honesty, no less in public

than in private affairs, is always the best policy. Providence, he believed, had connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue. Other subjects, to which he alluded, were the importance of credit, of economy, of a reduction of the public debt, and of literary institutions; above all he recommended religion and morality as indispensably necessary to political prosperity.—“In vain,” says he “would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.” Bequeathing these counsels to his countrymen he continued in office till the fourth of March, 1797, when he attended the inauguration of his successor, Mr. Adams, and with complacency saw him invested with the powers, which had for so long a time been exercised by himself. He then retired to Mount Vernon, giving to the world an example, most humiliating to its emperors and kings; the example of a man, voluntarily disrobing himself of the highest authority, and returning to private life with a character, having upon it no stain of ambition, of covetousness, of profusion, of luxury, of oppression, or of injustice.

It was now that the soldier, the statesman and the patriot, hoped to repose himself, after the toils of so many years. But he had not been long in retirement, before the outrages of Republican France induced our government to raise an army, of which, in July, 1798, he was appointed commander in chief. Though he accepted the appointment, his services were not demanded, and he himself did not believe that an invasion would take place. Pacific overtures were soon made by the French Directory; but he did not live to see the restoration of peace. On Friday, December 13, 1799, while attending to some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner; but at night he was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain, and a sense of stricture in the throat, a cough, and a difficult deglutition; which were soon succeeded by fever, and a quick and laborious respiration. About twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from him. In the morning, his family physician, Doctor Craik, was sent for; but the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. The appointed time of his death was near. Believe

ing from the commencement of his complaint that it would be mortal, a few hours before his departure, after repeated efforts to be understood, he succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die, without being disquieted by unavailing attempts to rescue him from his fate. After it became impossible to get any thing down his throat, he undressed himself and went to bed, there to die. To his friend and physician, who sat on his bed, and took his head in his lap, he said with difficulty, ' Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time ; but I am not afraid to die.' Respiration became more and more contracted and imperfect, until half past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle. Thus, on the fourteenth of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father of his country, ' The man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.' This event spread a gloom over the country, and the tears of America proclaimed the services and virtues of the hero and sage, and exhibited a people, not insensible to his worth. The senate of the United States, in an address to the president on this melancholy occasion, indulged their patriotic pride, while they did not transgress the bounds of truth, in speaking of their WASHINGTON. ' Ancient and modern names,' said they, ' are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied ; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory ; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honor ; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it.'

Gen. Washington was rather above the common stature ; his frame was robust, and his constitution vigorous. His exterior created in the beholder the idea of strength united with manly gracefulness. His eyes were of a gray colour, and his complexion light. His manners were rather reserved than free. His person and whole deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, unmingled with haughtiness, of which all, who approached him, were sensible. The attachment of those, who possessed his friendship, was ardent, but always respectful. His temper was



humane, benevolent, and conciliatory; but there was quickness in his sensibility to any thing apparently offensive, which experience had taught him to watch and correct. He made no pretensions to vivacity or wit. Judgment, rather than genius constituted the most prominent feature of his character. As a military man he was brave, enterprising, and cautious. At the head of a multitude, whom it was sometimes impossible to reduce to proper discipline before the expiration of their time of service, and having to struggle almost continually with the want of supplies, he yet was able to contend with an adversary superior in numbers, well disciplined, and completely equipped, and was the means of saving his country. The measure of his caution has by some been represented as too abundant; but he sometimes formed a plan, which his brave officers thought was too adventurous, and sometimes contrary to their advice he engaged in battle. If his name is not rendered illustrious by splendid achievements, it is not to be attributed to the want of military enterprise. He conducted the war with that consummate prudence and wisdom, which the situation of his country and the state of his army demanded. He also possessed a firmness of resolution, which neither dangers nor difficulties could shake. In his civil administration he exhibited repeated proofs of that practical good sense, of that sound judgment, which is the most valuable quality of the human mind. More than once he put his whole popularity to hazard in pursuing measures, which were dictated by a sense of duty, and which he thought would promote the welfare of his country. In speculation he was a real republican, sincerely attached to the constitution of the United States, and to that system of equal, political rights, on which it is founded. Real liberty, he thought, was to be preserved only by preserving the authority of the laws, and maintaining the energy of government. Of incorruptible integrity, his ends were always upright, and the means which he employed, were always pure. He was a politician, to whom wiles were absolutely unknown. When any measure of importance was proposed, he sought information and was ready to hear, without prejudice, whatever could be said in relation to the subject; he suspended his judgment till it was necessary to decide; but after his decision had been thus deliberately made, it was seldom shaken, and he was as active and persevering in executing, as he had been cool in forming it. He possessed an innate and unassum-

ing modesty, which adulation would have offended, which the plaudits of millions could not betray into indiscretion, and which was blended with a high sense of personal dignity, and a just consciousness of the respect, which is due to station.

With regard to the religious character of Gen. Washington, there have been different opinions. In the extracts from some of his private letters, which have been published by the historian of his life, the name of the Supreme Being is once or twice introduced in a manner, which in common conversation is deemed irreverent. It is also understood, that in a few instances during the war, particularly when he met Gen. Lee retreating in the battle of Monmouth, his language was unguarded in this respect. It may not be impossible, that a good man in a moment of extreme irritation should utter a profane expression; but perhaps it is less possible, that such a man, when his passion has passed away, and his sober recollections have returned, should not repent bitterly of his irreverence to the name of God. On the other hand, Gen. Washington, when at the head of the army, issued public orders, calling upon his officers to discountenance the habit of profanity; he speaks in his writings of the "pure and benign light of revelation," and of the necessity of imitating "the charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion;" he gratefully acknowledged the interpositions of Providence in favor of this country; his life was upright and virtuous; he principally supported an episcopal church in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon, where he constantly attended public worship; during the war he not unfrequently rode ten or twelve miles from camp for the benefit of the institutions of religion; and it is believed, that he every day had his hour of retirement from the world for the purpose of private devotion.

Gen. Washington was blessed with abundant wealth, and he was not ignorant of the pleasure of employing it for generous purposes. His style of living was dignified, though he maintained the strictest economy. While he was in the army he wrote to the superintendant of his estate in the following terms. "Let the hospitality of the house be kept up with regard to the poor. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this sort of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money in

charity, when you think it will be well bestowed ; I mean, that it is my desire, that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor my wife are in the way to do these good offices." Thus was he beneficent, while at the same time he required an exact compliance with engagements. A pleasing proof of the generous spirit, which governed him, is exhibited in his conduct towards the son of his friend, the Marquis de La Fayette. The marquis, after fighting in this country for American liberty, had returned to France ; but in the convulsions of the French revolution he was exiled and imprisoned in Germany. General Washington gave evidence of sincere attachment to the unhappy nobleman, not only by exerting all his influence to procure his release from confinement, but by extending his patronage to his son, who made his escape from France, and arrived with his tutor at Boston, in 1795. As soon as he was informed of his arrival, he wrote to a friend, requesting him to visit the young gentleman and make him acquainted with the relations between this country and France, which would prevent the president of the United States from publicly espousing his interest, but to assure him of his protection and support. He also directed this friend to draw on him for money to defray all the expenses, which young La Fayette might incur. Towards his slaves Gen. Washington manifested the greatest care and kindness. Their servitude lay with weight upon his mind, and he directed in his will, that they should be emancipated on the decease of his wife. There were insuperable difficulties in the way of their receiving freedom previously to this event. On the death of Mrs Washington, May 22d, 1802, the estate of Gen. Washington, as he had no children, was divided according to his will among his and her relations. It amounted by his own estimate, to more than five hundred thousand dollars."\*

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### JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

Second President of the United States.

It has often been remarked, that the history of the life of a private man, however distinguished he may have been



for virtue and intelligence, furnishes less interest to the reader, than that of one, who, although possessed of inferior endowments, has passed his life in public employment. A similar remark may be applied to the two great classes of public men—one, devoted to the almost unobserved exertions of wisdom in council,—and the other, to all that is attractive and splendid in war.

The subject of this memoir, was not a warrior; he was a statesman; who during the arduous struggle for the independence of the United States, acted a most prominent and responsible part in the councils of his country, and after it was obtained, filled the highest offices in the power of that country to bestow.

John Adams, was born in the town of Braintree, now called Quincy, in the state of Massachusetts, on the 19th of October, 1734, and was a descendant of the first families who founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay. After receiving the best education which the means of the country at that time could afford, he commenced the profession of Law, and by his abilities and integrity, he soon commanded the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens. He arose to the highest rank at the bar; but not content with supporting the rights of individuals only, he zealously entered into the defence of the rights and liberties of his country at large, and in his early life wrote a dissertation on the canon and feudal laws; a work well adapted to confound the supporters of either civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. It evinced not only the talents and patriotism of the writer, but excited a deep sensation in the minds of the whole community, on the subject of their dependence upon England for every thing that was dear and invaluable.

Notwithstanding his zeal and firmness, displayed in the defence of the liberties of his country, against the encroachments of Great Britain; he was, with that distinguished patriot, Mr. Quincy, employed to defend Capt. Preston of the British forces, who had been imprisoned for the massacre of some of the citizens of Boston, on the memorable 5th of March, 1770. Called upon by his professional duties, he boldly stood forth, as his advocate; and although his client's cause was most unpopular,—the whole town of Boston being exceedingly irritated at the conduct of Governor Hutchinson, and that of the troops under his command, he conducted the trial with so much address and ability, that Capt. Preston was finally acquitted: thus proving to England that

Massachusetts would be humane and just to their enemies, amidst the grossest insults and provocations. In the management of this cause, delicate and unpleasant as his situation was, he never lost sight of the true interests of his country, and while contending for humanity and justice in behalf of his client, he manifested all that firmness of mind, disinterested and enlightened patriotism, which has ever since marked his conduct during a long and honorable course of public life.

Mr. Adams, for several years continued not only distinguished in his professional pursuits, but particularly signalized for the early and active part he took in asserting and maintaining the rights and liberties of his country. Though younger by several years than James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and other ardent and determined patriots, he was associated with them in council to devise and recommend such measures as would best promote the interests of the colonies. At the bar, in popular assemblies, and through the press, he, in conjunction with those distinguished men, exerted every means in his power, to arouse the attention of his fellow citizens to the dangers which threatened their liberties. It was through their exertions, that the feelings of Americans were awakened to a sense of their situation. As early as 1760, resistance to the oppressive acts of the British Government were made, not indeed with arms, but by remonstrances, arguments and a firm determination on the part of the people to abstain from purchasing or consuming such articles as would yield a profit to England at the expense of the Colonies. Mr. Adams, in some of his late letters, has gone so far as to say, that the purest period of patriotism, was from 1760, to 1766, and that the war from 1775, to 1783, was not a revolutionary war, for the revolution was completed in the minds of the people, and the union of the Colonies before the war commenced in the skirmishes of Concord and Lexington on the 19th April 1775.

During this eventful period from 1760 to 1774, the leading men of the country from Massachusetts to Georgia, were actively engaged in devising measures to emancipate the country from the thralldom of oppressive and tyrannical laws. Although then a nation of feeble Colonies, composed of hardly three millions of inhabitants, and separated by rivers, forests and mountains, hardly passable, means were found by which the sentiments and feelings of the people throughout the country were ascertained.

The throwing overboard of the tea at Boston, the wanton bloodshed at Concord and Lexington, together with various other acts of military outrage committed by the British, had now prepared the minds of the colonists to become freemen, and no longer to live as slaves. Accordingly, although a congress had been for years occasionally held, to transact the ordinary business under the King's government, it was determined by the several Colonies to appoint delegates to meet at Philadelphia, to consider and adopt such measures as their critical situation required.

In prosecuting a sketch of the life of this now venerable patriot, it may perhaps be useful to notice some of the principal measures adopted by the delegates in congress, previous to the declaration of independence, in which he took a very active and responsible part.

The first congress of delegates, appointed by the Colonies to take into consideration their actual situation in respect to Great Britain, and the differences subsisting between the two countries, was held at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774. That body consisted of delegates from New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, Providence plantations, Connecticut, from the city and county of New-York, and some other counties in the province of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and from South-Carolina. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was unanimously elected president of the congress; and Charles Thomson, who, for so many years afterwards, with great honour to himself and benefit to his country, filled the same office, was unanimously chosen secretary. The day after they adopted rules for debating and determining questions. 1. Each colony or province had one vote. 2. No person could speak more than twice without leave. 3. No question could be determined the day on which it was agitated and debated, if any of the colonies desired the determination to be postponed to another day. 4. The door was to be kept shut during the time of business, and the members to consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor to keep the proceedings secret until the majority should direct them to be made publick. Committees were appointed to state the rights of the colonies, and inquire whether any, and if any, wherein those rights had been violated or infringed, and also to suggest the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a resto-



ration of them. The congress was opened by prayer, a reverential formality that was subsequently observed. The citizens of Philadelphia afforded every means in their power to aid the delegates in the discharge of their arduous duties. The public libraries were thrown open to their use, and men of business and knowledge rendered every service in their power to assist and enlighten this venerable body of men.

On the 14th of September delegates from North-Carolina took their seats. During the same month, it was unanimously resolved, that the congress request the merchants and others in the several colonies, not to send to Great Britain any orders for goods, but to suspend their execution, until the sense of the congress, on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America, should be made public. Other resolutions followed in rapid succession, one prohibiting the importation of any goods, wares or merchandise from Great Britain or Ireland, and that they should not be used or purchased if imported, and another that, after the 10th of September, 1775, the exportation of all merchandise, and every commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies ought to cease, unless the grievances of America should be redressed before that time. This congress also by a committee addressed a spirited letter to General Gage, representing that the town of Boston and province of Massachusetts Bay, were considered by all America as suffering in the common cause, for their noble and spirited opposition to the oppressive acts of parliament calculated to divest the American people of their most sacred rights and privileges. On the 20th of October the non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement was adopted and signed by the delegates composing the congress. This agreement contained a clause to discontinue the slave trade, and a provision not to import East-India tea from any part of the world. An address to the people of Great Britain, and to those of her colonies, was also approved. In the same month a petition to the king was adopted, setting forth the grievances of the colonies, and asking for a redress of them. To the inhabitants of Quebec, in particular, a letter was addressed, breathing the spirit of sympathy in suffering, and inviting them to act in union with them in resistance to oppression.

On the 10th of May, 1775, delegates from the same several colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, assembled

at the State House in Philadelphia, when Peyton Randolph was, a second time, unanimously chosen President, and Charles Thompson unanimously chosen Secretary. On the 13th of May a delegate from Georgia, chosen by the Parish of St. Johns, was admitted to a seat in congress; but not considering himself as the representative of the whole colony, he declined voting, except on occasions when congress did not vote by colonies. The name of this ardent patriot was Lyman Hall. The Colony of Rhode Island, who had refused to send a delegate at the opening of the present session of Congress, about this time altered their determination, and Lemuel Ward, from that colony, appeared and was permitted to take his seat. Such was the second congress, composed of the delegates from the then twelve, now, increased to twenty-four free and independent states.

During this session, many important acts, preparatory to the eventful period which soon after arrived, were adopted. Every resolve was passed by an unanimous vote. Among others, a resolution was passed prohibiting all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, East and West Florida, and Georgia, with the exception of the *Parish of St. Johns*, which was undoubtedly made as a token of respect for the patriotism of that section of the colony. Mr. Randolph, then President of Congress, being under a necessity of returning home, the chair became vacant, and John Hancock was unanimously elected President. Congress resolved that the colonies be immediately put in a state of defence; that a fresh petition to the king, with a view to reconcile differences, be prepared; and that a letter to the people of Canada, Ireland, and Jamaica, be reported. On the 7th of June it was resolved that the 20th day of July following should be observed, throughout the twelve united colonies, as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer. Resolutions were also passed for the collection of saltpetre and sulphur, and the manufacture of gunpowder. It was also resolved to raise several companies of riflemen by enlistment for one year, to serve in the American Continental Army; the pay of officers and privates was established, and rules and regulations, for the government of the army, were adopted.

On the 15th of June, it was resolved that a general should be appointed, to command all the continental forces raised, or to be raised, in defence of American liberty, and after having proceeded to a choice by ballot, George Washington was declared to be elected by an unanimous vote. A com-

mission, in the name of the twelve colonies, dated Philadelphia, June 17th, 1775, signed by the President and attested by the Secretary, was accordingly delivered to him, the original of which is now preserved in the Department of State, in Washington City. Congress, at the same time, resolved that they would maintain, assist, and adhere to George Washington, with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American freedom.

These warlike measures were adopted in consequence of the military proceedings of the British at Lexington, in Massachusetts; of the burning of Charlestown, near Boston, and of the various indications, on the part of Great Britain, of an intention to compel the colonies to submit to her tyrannical decrees, by force of arms. Various other measures were adopted by that distinguished body of men, to meet the exigency of the times. In the latter part of July the Colony of Georgia signified her wishes to join the association, and appointed delegates to attend the congress; thus the thirteen states were at length united in one common bond, to sustain their liberties, or perish in the attempt.

It was during this session, also, that the first line of posts, for the communication of intelligence through the United States, was established. Benjamin Franklin was appointed, by an unanimous vote, Post-Master-General, with power to appoint as many deputies as he might deem proper and necessary, for the conveyance of the mail from Falmouth, in New-England, to Savannah, in Georgia.

On the first of August, congress adjourned to the 5th September, 1775, after having declared that the non-importation and non-exportation resolves should comprise, not only the countries already mentioned, but should extend to every island and settlement within the latitude of the southern line of Georgia and the equator. Previous to their adjournment, however, Congress had also taken proper steps to secure the important posts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

On the 5th of September, 1775, agreeably to adjournment, congress again convened, but did not form a quorum to do business until the 13th, when delegates from Georgia appeared, produced their credentials, and took their seats. During this session the same system of warlike measures were pursued as had been commenced in the last. Fortifications were ordered to be repaired: letters to and from the delegates were authorised to pass and be carried free of postage; and a similar privilege was extended to all letters to



and from the commander in chief of the continental army, or the chief commander in the northern military department. Resolutions were passed recommending to the several provincial assemblies, their councils and committees of safety, to arrest and secure all persons in their respective colonies, whose going at large might, in their opinion, endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberties of America. In December it was determined to fit out a naval armament, to consist of thirteen ships, five of thirty-two guns, and also to emit bills of credit to the amount of three millions of dollars.

In January 1776, regulations were adopted relative to the division of prizes and prize money, taken by armed vessels, among officers and men. The trade with the Indians was put upon a new footing ; and it was recommended to creditors, who had claims against persons in the army or navy, for less than thirty-five dollars, not to arrest the debtors until their term of service had expired.

On the 17th of February, a standing committee of five was appointed to superintend the treasury ; and congress directed the emission of the farther sum of four millions of dollars in bills of credit ; a resolution was adopted recommending to the several colonies to disarm all disaffected persons ; and another, on the 21st of March, urging the several provincial assemblies to exert their utmost endeavours to promote the cultivation of hemp, flax, and cotton, and the growth of wool ; to take the earliest measures for the improvement of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce, and forthwith to introduce and improve the means of manufacturing duck, sail cloth, and steel. Private armed vessels were also about this period of time authorised. On the 6th of April the importation of slaves was expressly prohibited, and it was recommended to the council of safety of Maryland, to cause the person and papers of Governor Eden to be seized and secured, in consequence of a belief that he was engaged in a correspondence with the British ministers, highly dangerous to the liberties of America. Bounty was allowed for the enlistment of sailors, and on the 10th of May it was resolved that ten millions of dollars should be raised for carrying on the war for the year 1776, and measures were taken for treating with the Indians. On the 15th of May a resolution, concerning the safety of the liberty of the colonies, was passed, the preamble of which stated the intention totally to suppress the exercise of every kind of authority

under the British Crown. On the 7th of June certain resolutions, respecting independency, were moved and seconded, and a few days afterwards it was resolved that a committee, on this momentous subject, should be appointed. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Other committees were also appointed to prepare and digest a form of confederation, to be entered into between the colonies, and also to prepare plans of treaties to be entered into between foreign nations. A board of war and ordnance was established. On the 25th, a declaration of the deputies of Pennsylvania, met in their provincial conference, expressing their willingness to concur in a vote declaring the united colonies free and independent states, was laid before congress and read. Maryland, also, through her convention, authorised their deputies to concur in declaring the colonies to be free and independent. On the 2d of July a resolution, declaring the colonies free and independent states, was adopted. A declaration to that effect was, on the same and following days, taken into further consideration ; and finally, on the 4th of July, the declaration of independence was agreed to, signed, and directed to be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops, and to be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.

This summary of the principal acts of the congress of delegates immediately preceding the declaration of independence, it is believed, could no where be given, with more propriety, than under the name of the illustrious individual who is the subject of the present sketch. In all these important measures, he took a very active part, and was particularly distinguished for the firmness, knowledge, and eloquence which he displayed in that dignified and patriotic body. He had so long been engaged in the cause of liberty that he had become perfectly familiar with every topic that could be brought into discussion ; for so long ago as 1761, he had, in the ardour of youthful patriotism, as has been already mentioned, associated himself with James Otis, Samuel Adams, and other great men, in opposition to the arbitrary and oppressive measures which were, even at that early period, pursued by Great Britain towards this country.

Some idea of the feelings which prevailed, at that time may be conceived from an extract of a letter, written by

President Adams, to Judge Tudor. The letter professes to give an account of the great trial of the question as to the constitutionality of *writs of assistance*, which were then attempted to be put in force, but were resisted by the colonists. The trial came on in the month of February, 1761, in the old Town House, in Boston. The court consisted of five judges, with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson at their head, as chief justice. He had been recently appointed, and every observing and thinking man knew that this appointment was made for the express purpose of deciding this question in favour of the crown, as well as all others, in which it should be interested. An alarm was spread far and wide. The merchants of Salem and Boston resolved to defend themselves against this terrible menacing monster, the writ of assistance. James Otis, and others, undertook their cause. Great fees were offered, but they would accept of none. "In such a cause," said they, "we despise all fees." After briefly noticing the arguments of counsel, on both sides, President Adams breaks forth in the following glowing language :—" But Otis was a flame of fire ! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glare of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. *American Independence was then and there born.* The seeds of patriots and heroes, to defend the vigorous youth, were then and there sown. Every man, of an immense crowded audience, appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then, and there, was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain ; then, and there, the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, i. e. in 1776, he grew up to manhood, and declared himself free."

With such feelings, and after so many years of resistance to the encroachments of Great Britain, it may easily be conceived with what joy, gratitude and patriotism, he entered the congress of delegates, which had, for the first time, met, for the sole purpose of taking into consideration the subsisting differences between the colonies and Great Britain, and to devise measures for the deliverance of his country.

When congress, finding no other alternative left, declared the colonies absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, it may well be supposed that every heart beat high with the spirit of liberty and independence. The confidence and



enthusiasm, which Mr. Adams then felt in the cause, were fully manifested in the following letter, written by him at Philadelphia, in the genuine spirit of prophecy, on the 5th of July, 1776, the day after the declaration of independence, to a friend in Boston :—

“ Yesterday, the greatest question was decided, which was ever debated in America, and greater, perhaps, never was or will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting colony, “ **THAT THESE UNITED STATES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.**”

“ The day is past. The 4th of July, 1776, will be a *memorable epoch* in the history of America. I am apt to believe *it will be celebrated*, by succeeding generations, *as the great anniversary festival*. It ought to be commemorated as the DAY OF DELIVERANCE, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with *pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations*—FROM ONE END OF THE CONTINENT TO THE OTHER, *from this time forward forever !*”

Mr. Adams continued a member of the congress of delegates, and for some time was one of the committee to whom was committed the controul of the War Department. He was actively engaged as one of the principal advisers on every important measure adopted. He was one of the first to advise the making of overtures to the French government for the formation of a treaty of commerce and alliance against the common enemy, Great Britain, and in order to effect so desirable an object he was sent to France, as one of the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States. He returned, in 1779, to Massachusetts, and assisted his fellow-citizens in framing a constitution of government for that commonwealth. He was soon after appointed, by congress, to return to Europe, with full powers to assist at any conference, which might be opened, for the establishment of peace ; and not long after was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague, with authority to negotiate a loan of money with the Dutch government, for the use of the United States. In the execution of these highly important offices, he proved himself not unworthy of the confidence reposed in him, by the able and satisfactory manner in which he fulfilled them. While performing these several duties in Europe, so important to the United States, he rendered others, in his intercourse with distinguished and influential men in Europe,

which were of great service to his country. It was during this period of his residence in Europe, also, that he published his learned and celebrated work, well known by the name of *Adams' Defence*, which was intended as a defence of the constitution of the government of the United States, against certain attacks which had been made upon it by the friends of monarchy and despotism in Europe.

After the capture of the British army, under Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, the British Government signified their wishes for an accommodation with America. Commissioners were accordingly appointed, of which Mr. Adams was one to effect so desirable an object, and on the thirtieth of November, 1782, provisional articles of peace were agreed upon and signed by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States ; and by Richard Oswald on the part of Great Britain. These articles were to be considered as the basis of a future treaty to be finally concluded between the parties, whenever peace should take place between Great Britain and France.

By these articles, however, the Independence of the United States was acknowledged, and all, under the then existing circumstances, that could be reasonably expected by them, was obtained.

All difficulties being removed, the definitive treaty between the two countries, was at length signed at Paris, on the third day of September, 1783, by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the part of the United States ; and David Hartley, on the part of Great Britain. To the great benefit of both nations, peace was thus happily established, and Mr. Adams was not long after appointed Minister to the Court of St. James. This was a new and trying situation, as well as a very delicate one, especially for him, who had taken so distinguished a part in the struggle for independence. He was placed, as a representative to the British Government, of a people now recognized as free and independent ; but who had been, for the seven preceding years, stigmatized and denounced as rebels and traitors, by that very government.

His feelings were described in a letter of his to a friend in America, written soon after a great Levee was held by the King, to which all the ministers of foreign powers were invited, and himself among the rest, for the first time to be introduced, as Ambassador of the United States. The ceremonies were conducted with great pomp and show. The

ministers of the oldest and most powerful nations, were of course one by one presented, while he, with those of Sweden, Denmark, and others of the secondary grade, were to await their turn in this part of the ceremony. He knew not what sort of reception he should be met with by his Majesty, but presumed it would be a cold and formal one. The ambassadors from Sweden and Denmark, supported him by their encouragements, though they felt themselves to be in the same uneasy situation as he was ; at length, though last, he was introduced in due form, and contrary to his expectation, met with a most gracious reception,—the King, among other things, said, that as he was the last to acknowledge the independence of the States, so he would be the last to infringe it.

Mr. Adams remained some years in London in his above-mentioned capacity ; during which time, among other acts performed in the service of his country, he with Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, ministers plenipotentiary appointed for that purpose, concluded a treaty of amity and commerce between the King of Prussia and the United States of America. During his residence in England, he used every exertion to strengthen the bonds of peace between the two countries, and he discharged the high duties with which he was entrusted, in such a manner, as to excite the marked respect of the one, and the gratitude of the other.

Judge Tudor, in his *Life of Otis*, relates the following interesting anecdote : “ When president Adams was minister at the Court of St. James, he often saw his countryman, Benjamin West, the late president of the Royal Academy. Mr. West always retained a strong and unyielding affection for his native land. Mr. West one day asked Mr. Adams, if he should like to take a walk with him, and see the cause of the American revolution. The minister, having known something of this matter, smiled at the proposal, but told him that he should be glad to see the cause of that revolution, and to take a walk with his friend West any where. The next morning he called according to agreement, and took Mr. Adams into Hyde Park, to a spot near the Serpentine river, where he gave him the following narrative. The King came to the throne a young man, surrounded by flattering courtiers ; one of whose frequent topics it was, to declaim against the meanness of his palace, which was wholly unworthy a monarch of such a country as England.



They said that there was not a monarch in Europe who was lodged so poorly ; that his sorry, dingy, old brick palace of St. James, looked like a stable, and that he ought to build a palace suitable to his kingdom. The King was fond of architecture, and would therefore listen to suggestions, which were in fact all true. This spot that you see here, was selected for the site, between this and this point, which were marked out. The King applied to his ministers on the subject ; they enquired what sum would be wanted by his majesty, who said he would begin with a million : they stated the expenses of the war, and the poverty of the treasury, but that his majesty's wishes should be taken into full consideration. Some time afterwards, the King was informed, that the wants of the treasury were too urgent to admit of a supply from their present means, but that a revenue might be raised in America to supply the King's wishes. This suggestion was followed up, and the King was in this way first led to consider, and then to consent, to the scheme for taxing the colonies." In this manner the ministers of the King, took advantage of his favourite project of building a splendid palace, in order to carry into effect, their long contemplated designs of raising a revenue from the colonies.

While thus employed in Europe, Mr. Adams was not forgotten at home. Such eminent services rendered to his country, both at home and abroad, during so many years of oppression and war, as well as in peace ; and those by one possessed of uncommon abilities, and deeply versed in politics and government, were not overlooked, but duly appreciated, by his countrymen. In 1789, he was called by the voice of his country, to fill the office of vice president of the United States ; General Washington having been chosen president. They were both reelected to the same offices at the expiration of the constitutional term of four years. In November, 1796, General Washington having determined to retire from public life, Mr. Adams was chosen President of the United States, in his place. To be appointed the successor of Washington, says a writer, and that, by the voice of the freemen of America, is such an unequivocal testimony of superior talents, virtue and patriotism, as renders eulogium superfluous.

On assuming the duties of his office, on the fourth day of March, 1797, Mr. Adams found himself placed in a very critical, if not unpleasant situation. During the preceding eight years, great changes in the political world had taken

place; the French revolution had been effected, which not only deluged France in blood, but filled all Europe with terror and dismay. The influence produced by this great event was most sensibly felt in this country.

As early as April 22, 1793, a few days after information was received, that war had been commenced between England and France, General Washington with the unanimous advice of his cabinet, issued a proclamation of neutrality. In consequence of these events the people of the United States became divided into two great political parties; the one, viewed the French Revolution as the result of the exertions of freemen, to throw off the yoke of despotism under which they and their ancestors had groaned for so many ages, and that instead of remaining neutral, the United States ought rather to assist them in their struggle for liberty. The other party beheld it in a very different light, not as that of a nation rising in her strength to maintain her freedom and to establish equal laws, but as the offspring of an infuriated mob, led on by the most unprincipled demagogues, to accomplish their double objects of revenge and ambition. They had already brought their king to the scaffold, as well as thousands of their most virtuous and able citizens, and even driven into exile such men as La Fayette, and other early patriots and friends to rational freedom.

This division of public opinion was greatly increased by the arrival of Mr. Genet, about this time, he being the first Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France to the United States. His conduct is well known. Gen. Washington requested of the French government his recal, which was granted, and Mr. Genet's conduct was disapproved by his government.

Such was the origin of the two great parties, denominated federal and republican, which have, for so many years, distracted and divided the citizens of the United States. At the time of Mr. Adams' election to the presidency, the people were nearly equally divided in their political opinions. Mr. Adams, therefore, was well aware that his administration would be a difficult and tempestuous one. The violence of party spirit had already arisen to an alarming height, and seemed still to increase with the progress of time. The devastating wars, carried on in Europe, and which grew out of the French revolution, seemed more and more to excite the angry passions of the people. The republicans were influenced both by partiality for France and hatred to Eng-

land. The federalists looked upon the war, prosecuted by France, to be, not a war for freedom and independence, but a war for universal dominion, and that England and the other powers were engaged merely in self-defence against the unbounded ambition of the rulers of France.

The debates in Congress, although distinguished for ability, were marked for acrimony and virulence, that body being nearly equally divided as to its *then* political character. Insults were repeatedly offered by the French Directory to the United States, in the person of their Ministers, and their commerce was harassed by illegal captures of their vessels. These indignities after a long endurance, and a rejection of all advances for an accommodation, together with a threatened invasion of our country, at length roused the government in the hands of Mr. Adams, to adopt vigorous measures in self defence. Accordingly Congress authorized the formation of a regular army, and the navy was increased and put on a more respectable footing than it heretofore had been. These spirited measures although they were loudly denounced by the democratic party, as being worse than useless, produced the desired effect,—for not long after they were adopted, an indirect communication was made to Government, that France was ready and willing to accommodate all matters in dispute on the most reasonable terms. These overtures were embraced by Mr. Adams, who immediately appointed three envoys extraordinary to the French Republic, for the purpose of concluding an honourable peace. Another revolution had about this time broken out in France. The Directory was overthrown, and the government was placed in the hands of Bonaparte, who had taken no part in the measures which had so nearly involved the two countries in war. With him negotiations were opened, which were soon terminated in a pacific adjustment of all disputes ; including indemnity for past, and security against future aggressions.

Besides the ordinary laws passed during Mr. Adams' administration, there were several of great public interest, in addition to the one already mentioned, relative to our concerns with the French Republic. Among these, were the alien, and sedition laws, as also one increasing the number of Judges of the United States courts. A law laying a direct tax was also passed during this term. Each of these acts were violently opposed both in and out of Congress by the political opponents of Mr. Adams. No means which malice or



ingenuity could devise were left unemployed to rouse the resentment of the people against what they called, these aristocratical and unconstitutional acts.

The period for which Mr. Adams was chosen, was now drawing to a close. The electioneering campaign was opened and conducted with the most unremitting zeal and exertion by each of the two great parties. Mr. Adams was the federal, and Mr. Jefferson the republican, or popular candidate. On counting the votes, it appeared that Mr. Adams was not the successful candidate,—he not having received so great a number of votes as Mr. Jefferson. He of course, on the 4th of March, 1801, retired from public life, with the applause of many, and the censure of others, (as is generally the fate of public men,) to his paternal estate in the town of Quincy, Massachusetts, where he now resides, at the advanced age of 91 years. Mr. Adams in his retirement, has devoted himself to those liberal studies, to which he had from his early life become particularly attached. His friends were numerous, consisting of the great and good, in every part of the United States,—with many of whom a correspondence was maintained, distinguished for the interest excited, when published, on account of the talent and information it unfolded.

So extensive is his knowledge on most subjects connected with literature, religion, and politics—and especially that which he possesses of the principal events which took place both preceding and during the revolutionary war, that his opinions and assistance have been continually sought after, by political and literary men in every section of the country.

It has been observed how zealously and determined he conducted himself in the establishment of our national independence. He ever has been equally determined and independent in the exercise of his judgment upon other subjects, whether of a public or private nature. After a careful examination of the matter presented for his consideration, his opinion was formed, to which he most inflexibly adhered. It is perhaps owing to this trait of character, a trait not uncommon among men of superior minds, that he was in the course of his life, sometimes obliged, though with reluctance, to differ from his friends, both personal and political.

Mr. Adams, while president, was strongly in favour of maintaining a respectable military and naval force, believing that government ought, in peace, to be prepared for war. This opinion he has always maintained, although it was the

subject of the most violent clamour, on the part of his political enemies. That his sentiments, on this, as well as on many other important measures, which were at the time so warmly opposed, were correct, may be inferred from the fact, that they have since been adopted by his successors, and even to a much broader extent, than was ever contemplated by him. He was in particular attached to the navy, believing from the local and relative situation of the United States, as well as from the skill and bravery of her seamen, that it was the best means in her power, either of annoyance, or of defence. His feelings on this subject were with his characteristic emphasis, expressed on board the ship *Independence*, which he visited as she lay in Boston harbour, in August, 1815. He viewed with delight, her healthy, hearty, well dressed and cheerful looking crew, as he walked the gun-deck, on which were arranged six hundred brave American sailors—the tear stole from his eye—when, after recovering himself, he turned to the gentlemen accompanying him, and said, “*let Mr. Strong say what he will, THESE are the BULWARK OF OUR RELIGION!*”—alluding, probably, to a declaration which Governor Strong had not long before made, in a speech to the Massachusetts Legislature, that *England* was the bulwark of our religion. This independent and unyielding spirit was on all occasions discoverable. Whenever called upon for his opinion, he did not hesitate, on all proper occasions to give it, whether it was in accordance or not, with that of those who requested it. This part of his character is no where better illustrated than in his reply to the Massachusetts Peace Society, which was composed of christian Philanthropists, many of whom were his personal friends. They were men, whose purity of motives could not be doubted, whatever opinion might have been entertained as to the utility of the institution. They addressed letters to Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, for their support and countenance of the objects for which the society was established—the promotion of peace, and the discouragement of war. They both declined becoming members; Mr. Jefferson, after many philosophical speculations on the subject, stated, that age, and its effects, both on body and mind, had weaned his attention from public subjects, and left him unequal to the labour of correspondence, beyond the limits of his personal concerns; I retire, therefore, said he, from the question.—President Adams’ answer was as follows :

“QUINCY, FEBRUARY 6, 1816.

“*Dear Sir*—I have received your kind letter of the 23d of January, and I thank you for the pamphlets enclosed with it.

“It is very true, as my excellent friend, Mr. Norton, has informed you, that I have read many of your publications with pleasure.

“I have also read, almost all the days of my life, the solemn reasonings and pathetic declarations of Erasmus, of Fenelon, of St. Pierre, and many others, against war, and in favour of peace. My understanding and my heart, accorded with them at first blush. But alas! a longer and more extensive experience has convinced me, that wars are as necessary and as inevitable, in our system, as hurricanes, earthquakes and volcanoes.

“Our beloved country, sir, is surrounded by enemies, of the most dangerous, because the most powerful and most unprincipled character. Collisions of national interest, of commercial and manufacturing rivalries, are multiplying around us. Instead of discouraging a martial spirit, in my opinion it ought to be excited. We have not enough of it to defend us by sea or land.

“Universal and perpetual peace appears to me no more nor less than everlasting passive obedience and non-resistance. The human flock would soon be fleeced and butchered by one or a few. I cannot, therefore, sir, be a subscriber or a member of your society.

“I do, sir, most humbly supplicate the theologians, the philosophers, and politicians, to let me die in peace. I seek only repose.

“With the most cordial esteem, however, I am, dear sir, your friend and servant,

“JOHN ADAMS.”

It is deeply to be regretted, that a more distinct and particular account of the revolutionary speeches and proceedings are not preserved. President Adams, in a letter to the faithful and able editor of the Weekly Register, dated Jan. 3, 1817, observes, that “of all the speeches made in Congress, from 1774 to 1777, not one sentence remains, except a few periods of Dr. Witherspoon, printed in his works.” In the same letter, he thus expresses his opinion :—“In plain English, and in a few words, Mr. Niles, I consider the true history of the American revolution, and of the establishment of



our present constitution, as lost, forever. And nothing but misrepresentations, or partial accounts of it, ever will be recovered."

President Adams was always earnestly engaged in encouraging and patronising domestic manufactures. Of most of the principal societies, instituted for this purpose, in various parts of the United States, he has been chosen an honorary member, in consideration of the zeal he had so uniformly displayed in the promotion of every object connected with the welfare and independence of his country. In a letter, addressed to one of these societies, he observes, "that according to his view of political economy, in civilized society, next to agriculture, which is the first and most splendid, manufactures are the second, and navigation the third. With agriculture, manufactures and navigation, all the commerce which can be necessary or useful to the happiness of a nation, will be secured." Among these, and other tokens of respect, received from his fellow-citizens, he was chosen, in 1820, by an unanimous vote of his native town, a delegate to the Convention, to be held in Boston, for the purpose of revising or altering the government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Although above eighty-five years old, he was, also, at the opening of the sitting of the Convention, unanimously chosen President of that eminently able and dignified body. He acknowledged his gratitude for this particular mark of respect, from such distinguished fellow-citizens of his native state, but declined the acceptance of the office on account of the infirmities of age. He had, forty years before, sat in a similar convention, and was, at that period, the leading member in framing that constitution, which, in consequence of the great and beneficial changes which had taken place, now required such alterations and additions as would meet the exigencies of the times. Although he declined the office to which he was appointed, a chair, on the right of the President, afterwards elected, was assigned to him, as a testimony of the high respect and veneration in which he was held by that enlightened assembly.

But the most interesting scene, which we can view in his life of retirement, is that in which is exhibited the correspondence between him and Mr. Jefferson. Both were early engaged in the cause of American Independence; both were in the congress which met to consider the difficulties existing between the colonies and the mother country; and both

were not only members of that congress which declared the United States free and independent, but both were of that committee which framed that monumental record of free-men against tyrants—the *Declaration of Independence*:

After peace had taken place, both were appointed to foreign embassies ; Mr. Jefferson at Paris, and Mr. Adams, as has been before observed, at London. Upon their return, after the adoption of the federal constitution by the several states, they were both called to fill offices of the greatest responsibility under the new government ; the one as Vice-President of the United States, the other as Secretary of State under General Washington. While in these situations, they found themselves to be, in public opinion, rivals to each other ; each being at the head of one of the two great parties, which, during this period, first appeared, and which have, ever since, so much divided and agitated the people of the United States. The struggle finally terminated, as has already been mentioned, in the election of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, in 1801. In 1809, Mr. Jefferson retired from public office, and became, like President Adams, a private citizen. After this period, both being removed from the further troubles and perplexities of public life, a mutual correspondence, by letter, was commenced between them. Few, if any productions, have been so eagerly sought after and read, as those which were permitted to be published. It would appear, from these publications, that, although nominally hostile to each other, in a public point of view, they were, nevertheless, personally friendly ; and that they were placed in opposition to each other, not from any difference of private opinion, as regarded the great interests of the country, but from the zeal and violence of party spirit, which then pervaded the country.

The spectacle of two men, both of whom had held the highest offices in the gift of the only free government on earth, and who had, for so many years, been in political hostility to each other, now retired to the peaceful shades of private life, and engaged, at the advanced ages of eighty years, in a correspondence, distinguished for frankness, friendship and intellect, was indeed interesting. The sentiments interchanged on the various subjects of their letters, were such as might have been expected from men so distinguished as they were, for sound principles, splendid talents, and public services.

President Adams, for the last few years, has suffered considerably from bodily infirmity, though his mental faculties appear to remain wholly unimpaired. Owing to a defect in his eye sight, he has been under the necessity of employing an amanuensis, to reduce his thoughts to writing ; and, as he observed in one of his letters, he imposes upon his friends, as they call upon him, the task of reading aloud some favourite author.

It has fallen to the lot of this illustrious individual to witness what has rarely happened to any man before. He has lived to see his country emancipated from the thralldom of tyranny and oppression, in the accomplishment of which, few, if any, took a more active or important part ; he has been the chief magistrate of that country, after her independence was secured ; and now lives to see his son occupying the same exalted station which, five-and-twenty years ago, was held by himself—the Presidency of the United States.

Such are the brief outlines of the life of President Adams, who, in the evening of his days, is now enjoying the reward of a long life, devoted to the greatest of all earthly objects—the liberty and happiness of mankind.



## THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ.

Third President of the United States.

MR. JEFFERSON was born in Virginia. He was educated in his native land, from which he was never absent till its service demanded his residence at the Court of Paris, whither he was sent as an envoy.

Mr. Jefferson is tall, and of slender make, fresh complexion, clear penetrating eyes, hair inclining to red, and of very modest and affable deportment. He was, professionally, bred a lawyer, though born to an affluent fortune ; yet the public demand for the exercise of his talents in a higher sphere, left him but little time to display his native eloquence as a barrister. His country called him forward at a very early period.

In private life, in his younger days, he was, in every circle, its ornament, instructor and pride. Close application had supplied the want of many European advantages. In the auxiliary accomplishments of drawing, geometry, geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, and music, he attained extensive knowledge, and was considered a proficient in them.

At an early age he married a mild and amiable wife, the daughter of a Mr. Wayles, an eminent counsellor in Virginia, whose premature death deprived him of an affectionate partner. The death of this lady devolved on him a more weighty care in the education of her two lovely daughters.

It could not be expected that a man of such qualifications, in a country which stood so much in need of them, could be suffered longer to remain in philosophic retirement, and the vote of his constituents claimed his labours in the field of jurisprudence. In the Legislature of Virginia he became a distinguished and useful member, and has left many traces on record of sufficient importance to indicate his greatness.

During the revolutionary period, we find him advancing to a still more dignified station ; he was one of those in whose hands the people thought fit to confide the most material events of their political existence and future happiness. He was honoured with the public confidence during its most important struggles, and sat two years in the famous congress which brought about the revolution. In this congress

he sustained a character which will stand dignified to the end of time.

A greater example of unlimited confidence than was evinced in the address of his constituents, on the awful occasion of this delegation, will, probably, never be recorded in history. "You assert that there is a fixed determination to invade our rights and privileges; we own that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step, but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt."

The following is a beautiful and faithful picture, drawn by a distinguished hand, of his manly efforts during the memorable period of which we are speaking :

"They must be very ignorant of the history of America who know not that Mr. Jefferson shared with George Washington, Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Jay, and a few others, the toils and dangers of the revolution in all its different stages; that in the famous congress which guided and consolidated it, he displayed a boldness and firmness of character, a fund of talents and knowledge, and a steadiness of principles, which will hand down his name to posterity with glory, and assure to him forever the respect and gratitude of all the friends of liberty. It was he, who, in the famous congress, so respectable and so much respected, in that congress, ever inaccessible to the seduction, fear, and apparent weakness of the people—who jointly with Mr. Lee, another deputy of Virginia, proposed the declaration of independence. It was he, who, supported principally by John Adams, pressed the deliberation on the subject, and carried it, bearing down the wary prudence of some of his colleagues, possessed of an equal share of patriotism, but of less courage. It was he, who was charged with drawing up this master-piece of dignified wisdom and patriotic pride. It was he, who, being afterwards appointed Governor of Virginia, at the period of the invasion of Arnold and Cornwallis, acquired a peculiar claim on the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. It was he, who, as the first Ambassador of the United States in France, filled, at that momentous epocha, that distinguished post to the satisfaction of both nations. In fine, it was he, who, as Secretary of State in 1792, when the ridiculous and disorganizing pretensions of Mr. Genet, and the lofty arrogance of the British Minister, endeavoured alternately to abuse the political weakness of the United States, induced his govern-

ment to speak a noble and independent language, which would have done credit to the most formidable power. The long correspondence carried on with these two designing agents, would, from its just, profound and able reasoning, be alone sufficient to confer on its author the reputation of an accomplished Statesman."

In 1780-1, he was Governor of Virginia, and the successor of Patrick Henry. In 1781, he wrote his notes on Virginia. These were not intended for the press, yet they have found their way into print. Can any man say that he has cause to be ashamed of the principles he has avowed there? Let his book be read, it will bear witness for the man.

From the year 1782-3, till March 1786, he was a member of congress, when he was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Versailles, where he evinced great diplomatic talents. Mr. Jefferson remained in this situation until the year 1789, when he returned from France, and the federal constitution having been adopted by the unanimous consent of the several sovereign states, he was appointed Secretary of State to the Federal Government.

In this eminent capacity, he was called on to perform many arduous duties of office; and the difficulty of performing these in a safe and satisfactory manner, was greatly enhanced by the consideration of pursuing an unbeaten path in the organization of a new-born system.

We come now to one of the most important periods in the history of commerce: the period at which the ambassador of the King of England became a resident at the Court of America, and the citizen minister of the French Republic, assailed the firmness of her neutral principles. The burthen of the day fell on the shoulders of Mr. Jefferson. We need not say with what ability he sustained the shock. Suffice it to say, that with both nations the correspondence was *voluminous* and *intricate*, circumstances which render a detail of it, in the body of this work, impossible. It is apprehended to be, nevertheless, impartial on the side of Mr. Jefferson, and is important on the side of truth, against that insidious intrigue which dares impute to him an unworthy attachment.

If we were to follow him through the labyrinth of diplomatic intrigue, wherein the then existing rulers of France had employed their chosen corps in arming American citizens, in disorganising the government of the United States, and in endeavours to involve her in the war, we shall find



him equally vigilant and impartial. Where, then, may we ask, is the evidence of that overweening partiality to France, which his enemies have attempted to fix upon him? But to put this question beyond a doubt, and forever silence his malicious accusers, we need only produce the following extract of a letter from General Washington, addressed to Mr. Jefferson, on the subject of the unfortunate disagreement between him and the Secretary of the Treasury: "I did not require," says the letter, "the evidence of the extracts which you enclosed me, to convince me of your attachment to the constitution of the United States, or of your disposition to promote the general welfare of this country." The failure of affirmative evidence, as well as a voluminous proof of innocence, bid us desist from further disprobate.

On the 31st day of December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson retired from the office of Secretary of State. In addition to the ties of parental care, and the claims of domestic happiness, he is said to have been somewhat induced to this derelictory measure, by the persuasion of a decided party overwhelming his opinions in the presidential decisions. But his resignation appears more properly attributed to an existing disagreement between him and the Secretary of the Treasury department, which seems to have originated in an early stage of the administration, and to have acquired a regular accession of force from circumstances which were perpetually occurring, until it issued in open and irreconcilable hostility.

Immediately after this step, Mr. Jefferson was considered by the ruling party as the leader of opposition; he was suspected of revolutionary views; he was accused of an intention to overturn the constitution of the United States, of being the enemy of his country, and of a wish to become a tribune of the people. It is sufficient to know that Mr. Jefferson is a man of too much sense, to feel the absurdity of the scandalous imputations, and, whoever is acquainted with his virtue, must be astonished at their having been preferred against him. His speeches are those of a man firmly attached to the maintenance of the Union, of the present constitution, and of the independence of the United States. He is the declared enemy of every new system; and is clearly of opinion, that the present constitution should be carefully preserved and defended against all infringements arising from the stretch of executive power.

In the fall of 1796, Mr. Jefferson was elected by the people to the less active, though highly dignified office of Vice President.

In the fall of 1800, Mr. Jefferson was elected, by a large majority of his fellow citizens, to fill the high and important office of President of the United States. The constitution of the United States provided, that two persons shall be elected as President and Vice President, without granting to the electors the right of designating whom they intend for either office. In consequence of this, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr, being run together, had each the same number of votes. The question, who should be president? of course came before congress. As Mr. Jefferson was unquestionably the person intended by the votes for president, the spirit of the constitution was assuredly in his favour, but the latter placed Mr. Burr on the same ground with him. Notwithstanding this incontrovertible fact, that Mr. Burr, was never intended by the electors to be president of the United States, the balloting commenced, and was continued for several days, with an obstinacy which threatened our happy government with dissolution. In this ballot each state had one vote, and such was their representation, that neither candidate could obtain a constitutional majority. During this period, when it was expected that this country would be plunged into the uproar and misery of a civil war, that serenity of mind for which our president is so justly celebrated, left him not. He viewed the mighty controversy, in which the happiness of millions was at stake, with a steady confidence that "all would work together for good." The event justified his expectations. The opposition wearied out with the inflexibility of his friends, or fearing the "trial at the bar of the public reasons," at length gave way, and on the 3d of March 1801, the day on which President Adams' period of service expired, he was declared duly elected. Rarely has a nation known a season of greater solicitude, than this country experienced during this memorable balloting. One party appeared determined to place an usurper in the presidential chair (for Mr. Burr could not be looked upon in any other light) and the other resolved that it should be filled by the "man of the people."

The message of the president elect, was heard with enthusiasm by both houses of congress, it set forth the flourishing condition of our country, and the general principles which should govern his administration. Although the country

was convulsed with the conflicts of party, his message seemed to allay for a time, the angry passions which had been excited during the presidential election. "*We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans*" was a sentiment expressed in the message, and through the whole country received with approbation, as a pledge that political hostility was thereafter to cease, and the two great parties which then divided the nation, were to be united into one great and common family.

Mr. Jefferson, upon assuming the powers of the executive, immediately proceeded to appoint to offices in the various departments of government, his political friends, in the place of those incumbents, who were his political adversaries, alledging as he did, in a public letter, that his only rule to be observed in such cases, was, "is the candidate honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the constitution." Many of the federal party were displaced, but it may well be remarked, that though he had the whole power in his hands, more than one half of the officers in the various branches of government were suffered to remain in the enjoyment of employments and salaries, although they were his decided and avowed political opponents. That he had a right to displace from many of the most important offices in the country, those who were opposed to him, and appoint in their places, men of talents and character, who were his personal and political friends, there can be no doubt. It would have been ungrateful if not treacherous, had he not done so. Such a course is not only dictated by the common feelings of humanity, but by the example of every nation whose history is handed down to us. Upon the change of a ministry in England or France, it follows as a matter of course, that the old incumbents retire, and the friends of the new administration are appointed to succeed them in their honours and offices. These few remarks are made, because a great excitement was caused in many of the states, in consequence of the removal of persons politically hostile to him from office, and the appointing of those, politically friendly to him, to succeed them.

Mr. Jefferson, on accession to his office departed from the example of his predecessors, Washington and Adams, which was the cause of much speculation and controversy at the time, though it has since been followed and sanctioned by his successors, Madison and Munroe. Instead of a *speech* delivered to the two houses of congress by the president in



person, as had ever been the practice before, he sent to them a written *message* which was first read in the senate and then transmitted to the house of representatives. This course it is said was adopted by him, as being more consistent with the genius of our republican institutions, insomuch that it prevented the forms and ceremonies which are usually attendant on such occasions in other countries, especially, those subjected to a monarchical form of government. The new administration was commenced under the most favourable auspices. A large majority of the house of representatives in the next congress were not only his political friends, but enthusiastical, in their attachment to him personally, and to the particular principles of government which he had always avowed and supported.

During the first term of his administration, supported by the two branches of the legislature, his views and recommendations on the various subjects of national concerns were adopted, and received by the people generally with approbation. A large proportion of them however, were dissatisfied with many of the prominent acts of government. For although large majorities were, in both houses of congress his supporters, there were powerful minorities in almost every section of the country; and in congress many able and distinguished statesmen were decidedly hostile, to the principles of policy, by which he was actuated in the discharge of his official duties.

Among the most prominent measures adopted during the first four years of his administration, were the removal from office, or rather the abolition of the office of sixteen judges of the circuit courts of the United States, who were appointed quite at the close of Mr. Adams' administration, and by the partizans of Mr. Jefferson, styled "the midnight judges;" the impeachment of Judge Chase of Maryland, an associate judge of the supreme court of the United States, and the ratification of a treaty with the French government, by which it ceded that territory of America, called Louisiana, to the United States.

Concerning the removal of the sixteen judges, a diversity of sentiment prevailed throughout the country at the time, but was finally acquiesced in by many who were opposed to the act, on the ground that it was at least doubtful, whether their appointments in the manner made, were consistent with the provisions of the constitution.

The impeachment and trial of Judge Chase, however, produced a very considerable excitement, and aroused all the passions of the two great parties which then divided the American people.

He was considered by the federalists, of whose party he was a distinguished leader, as a man proscribed and persecuted without cause, and as a victim to be immolated on the altar of party spirit, merely to gratify the angry passions of those who were his personal and political opponents. The friends of the administration on the other hand, insisted that he had been guilty of gross abuses of his office, as a judge, and protested that nothing but a sense of public duty influenced them in their exertions to bring him to trial, before the proper tribunal.

Accordingly he was impeached by the house of representatives, and a numerous committee, of whom the celebrated John Randolph was chairman, were appointed to conduct and manage the trial before the senate. After a long and patient investigation of the charges, and hearing of the arguments of the committee, and of counsel on the part of Judge Chase, he was acquitted by a constitutional majority. This was the first formal impeachment and trial of a judge of the supreme court of the United States, since the adoption of the federal constitution, and no trial of the kind has since occurred.

The important treaty ceding Louisiana was also a subject of much discussion and feeling. By this treaty all that immense region of country extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, was acquired by the United States, as well as the free and exclusive navigation of the river, which had been interrupted by Spain. The sum of fifteen millions of dollars was the price of these newly acquired rights. The minority were opposed to the ratification of the treaty, contending that the sum was exorbitantly large, that the navigation of the Mississippi could have been secured amicably, and without such heavy pecuniary sacrifices, and *particularly* that the addition of such a vast extent of country to the United States, which were already sufficiently large, would be rather a curse than a blessing; that the day was not far distant when, it would be found that such vast dominions could not be held together under our form of government, and that like ancient Rome, she would fall to pieces through her own insupportable weight.

These objections, however, had little influence with Mr. Jefferson and the majority of Congress. They viewed the subject in a very different point of light :—that compared with the importance of the objects obtained, the purchase money was trifling. That the prosperity of all the western States was dependent on the free and uninterrupted navigation of the waters of the Mississippi, and a safe depot at New-Orleans,—that by this treaty our western frontier would be protected and preserved from collisions with a foreign power, and that the form and strength of our happy government were fully adequate for the security and protection of her territories, however extensive they might be.

This important treaty was executed at Paris, in the year one thousand eight hundred and three, by Robert R. Livingston, then ambassador in France ; and time has tested the great benefits which have resulted from it.

In addition to the acts already noticed which occurred during the first term of Mr. Jefferson's administration, of national importance, it ought to be mentioned, that a principal feature of the Constitution of the United States was altered. We allude to that article of it which was the cause of the long and anxious struggle in the House of Representatives in the choice of him as President. Instead of the two highest candidates for the office to be held up indiscriminately, the constitution was so amended that thereafter, the electors of the several states should designate the candidate whom they intended for the Presidency, as also him, whom they intended for the Vice Presidency. This undoubtedly arose from the evils experienced in the election by Congress. Mr. Jefferson undoubtedly was intended to be President by a majority of the votes in the electoral colleges, but Mr. Burr having the same number of votes, from the same political friends, he of course, under the old clause in the constitution stood on equal ground, and the House of Representatives voting by states, being equally divided, those evils were experienced, which the amendment was meant to remedy. It is however doubtful in the minds of many, whether this alteration will be productive in times to come, of benefit to the country. If two candidates were to be voted for without distinction as to which office they were to hold, perhaps the people would be more apt to select as candidates the *two* most proper persons to fill the highest offices in the nation, instead of confining their views to *one* only. It may be remarked, that, although the present distinguish-



ed patriot and statesman, Mr. Adams, was chosen in March last, by the House of Representatives, in consequence of there being no choice by the people, had the clause repealed, remained in the constitution, Mr. Calhoun, the present Vice President, would have been declared President, he having the greatest number of votes in the electoral colleges, and a considerable majority over all the other candidates.

At the close of this first term of Mr. Jefferson's administration, the feelings of the two great parties became more and more excited. The war in Europe had become a subject of intense interest among the leading men of our country. One party was denominated as being under British influence, while the other was charged with being subservient to the will of the Emperor Napoleon of France.

The devastating wars which were carried on at that period, as well as long after, not only threatened but endangered the best interests of our country, and in consequence our countrymen were very much divided in opinion as to the course of policy to be pursued, as well as to the justice of the cause in which the two great belligerents of Europe were engaged. The friends of the administration espoused the cause of France, believing Great Britain to be the aggressor in the war, and that her conduct towards this country was arrogant and oppressive ; while on the other hand the federalists maintained that England was acting only on the defensive, against the overwhelming power of France, and that her existence depended on her resistance, in order to preserve the liberties of Europe, as well as her own, and that she had done nothing against this country which was not authorized by the law of nations.

During this struggle of political warfare, Mr. Jefferson was again elected President, in the fall of 1804, and sworn into office on the 4th of March following. Mr. Burr, the former Vice President, and competitor of Mr. Jefferson for the presidency, in the memorable contest in the House of Representatives, four years before, was now reduced to the situation of a private citizen, not having received a single vote from the electors for either of the two offices of President or Vice President. He was succeeded by the venerable George Clinton, of New-York, who had, for many years, been distinguished as a patriot and statesman.

Mr. Jefferson, upon entering into the discharge of his duties for the second term of his administration, although a decided majority, in both houses of congress, were friendly

to the principles of government by which he was actuated, perceived himself to be placed in a more critical, if not more unpleasant situation, than at any former period of his public life. Domestic disturbances, which threatened the tranquillity of the states, but wholly disconnected with the causes of the difference between the two great political parties of the nation, were fearfully entertained by those now entrusted with the powers of government.

The spirit of party was also never more virulent than at the commencement of this second administration, although, as has been before remarked, a large majority in congress were the professed and determined supporters of Mr. Jefferson.

The war in Europe had also assumed a new aspect, and the manner in which it was conducted created apprehensions in the minds of our citizens, that our rights and liberties would not only be endangered, but sacrificed. Our commerce, in various parts of the world, became vexed and obstructed; the right of search of vessels, under a neutral flag, was insisted upon; and the impressment of American sailors was constantly practiced in every quarter of the globe, under the pretence that they were the liege subjects of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

To revert, however, to the principal occurrences of this period, we must notice, more particularly, the domestic troubles which are alluded to above. Aaron Burr, being reduced from the office of Vice President to the rank of a private citizen, as has already been mentioned, soon became an object of more particular interest, in the mind of the public, than he had ever been before. He had, while Vice President, rendered himself extremely obnoxious, in consequence of fighting a duel with General Hamilton, who was considered, universally, as one of the most able and upright men that this or any other country could boast, and who died in consequence of the wound received from Mr. Burr. This circumstance, in connection with his unjustifiable attempt to supplant Mr. Jefferson from the presidency, in 1801, seemed to have bereft him of all his friends, and to have made him very unpopular throughout the whole United States. He had forfeited the confidence of the republican party by his intrigues, for the office of President, against Mr. Jefferson, and had now excited the indignation of the whole federal party, by killing General Hamilton. He was thus apparently driven to a state of desperation; for he was not

long afterwards found engaged, in the western states, in the prosecution of acts in direct violation of the laws of his country—that country which had before so highly honoured him, and whose laws and constitution he had so often sworn to obey and maintain. He was, in consequence, through the vigilance of Mr. Jefferson, as President of the United States, caused to be arrested on the charge of *treason*; and thus the conspiracy, in which he was engaged, was broken down, and the accomplishment of its illegal objects frustrated. After a long confinement in prison, he was brought to trial before the Circuit Court in Virginia, in which Judge Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, presided. This trial was, perhaps, the most interesting and important that was ever held by any of the courts in the United States. It may be said, that it was in America, what the trial of Warren Hastings, was, in England.

President Jefferson, alarmed at the bold projects attempted by Burr and his associates, had already communicated to congress various documents as evidence of the guilt of the party arrested, and a sensation was produced, throughout the country, rarely, if ever before witnessed. The administration, with a great majority of the people, appeared to be satisfied of his guilt, and desirous of punishment commensurate with the magnitude of his offence.

Yet, notwithstanding this powerful influence, thus existing against the interests of Mr. Burr, he seemed determined to withstand the shock, and whether guilty or innocent, to avoid the blow that was threatened him. A few personal friends, and several eminent counsellors, assisted him in his defence. The trial continued for weeks, amidst the agitated feelings of the whole country. He was finally acquitted. But such was the popular feeling, that Judge Marshall, although his opinions on the various questions of law, submitted to him, were distinguished for their soundness and accuracy, was actually burnt in effigy in several of our principal towns, in order to express their indignation at the escape of one, whom they believed to have been a traitor to his country.

These internal troubles being thus disposed of, the administration became almost exclusively occupied with the subject of our relations with foreign powers. They had become more and more embarrassed and perplexed. The sanguinary and vindictive warfare carried on between the great nations of Europe, both on the land and on the ocean, involved



the interests of our country in difficulty, and although our soil was not invaded, our commerce was not only put in jeopardy, but seriously interrupted. To such an alarming extent had these evils arisen, that a system of retaliation was resolved upon, and restrictive measures were recommended by Mr. Jefferson. This was a novel mode in this country, either to protect our rights, or to resist oppression ; and a loud clamour, particular in the northern and eastern states was raised against it.

Congress however, in 1806, passed what is commonly called the “ non importation act,” by which the trade in most articles heretofore imported from Great Britain and Ireland and their colonies, was prohibited. Other restrictive measures were also adopted during this second term of Mr. Jefferson’s administration, all of which were attended with violent opposition from the minority, both in and out of Congress. But by far the most important act during Mr. Jefferson’s administration, an act, which convulsed the whole nation,—was *that*, laying an *Embargo*, on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbours of the United States. This act, with the other acts of non-importation and non-intercourse, was viewed by a great proportion of the citizens of the Atlantic States, as oppressive and unconstitutional,—that it interfered, and cut them off from their habitual and regular course of business—that it was likely to reduce them to poverty and distress ; their whole source of subsistence or wealth, being derived from their commercial pursuits.

It was claimed also, that it was an illegal act, as no limited time was specified during which it should continue,—that no instance of the kind could be offered as an example, either in this country or any other, of an embargo being laid, unless it was for a limited period, and even then, only in cases of scarcity of provisions at home, or for the purpose of securing success, to some enterprise of one nation against another, between whom war existed, or was soon to be declared.

The administration, however, were supported by a majority of congress, though not by so large an one as it had been in its other measures. The protection of our citizens against the lawless ravages of England and France upon the commerce of the United States, was urged as a reason, that something must be done to secure it, and that the only way in which that object could be effected was by laying an embargo. The act was also justified, by those who were in its favour, on the ground that it would produce a favourable

effect by way of retaliation, upon those nations who had experienced great benefits from their intercourse with us, but who were then violating the laws of nations, and sacrificing the dearest interests of our country.

The feelings of our citizens, from Maine to Georgia, were wrought to the highest degree. All those, engaged in commerce, considered it as a deadly blow against their own interests,—their ships were to rot, and the cargoes on board would either perish, or be of so little value, in consequence of the detention, as to ruin those concerned in them. The opposition to the measure in congress, had become increased. Mr. Randolph, who had heretofore been the leading character in the house of representatives, in favour of the administration, now withdrew his support, and opposed the restrictive measures, so warmly recommended and advocated by the friends of the administration. He declared his solemn conviction, that these measures conduced to the ruin of the country, and that they grew out of an overweening attachment to the French government, then perhaps in the height of her power, under the controul of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. He particularly alluded to Mr. Gallatin, who was then at the head of the Treasury Department, as being influenced by the wishes and views of the French Minister.

Mr. Pickering, an old and distinguished statesman, then a senator in the congress of the United States, also, opposed this course of policy pursued by the administration. Being a representative in the senate of the state of Massachusetts, he addressed a letter to James Sullivan, then governor of that state; in which he set forth in glowing colours the alarming state of national affairs, and the impending ruin of the commercial states in consequence of the restrictive system adopted by congress. He, as well as many other statesmen, contended, that our best policy was, to let commerce take care of itself, that any interposition on the part of government was productive of more evil than good; that our merchants were fully competent to manage their own affairs without any interference on the part of the United States.

This letter produced great sensation at the time, especially in New England, whose prosperity was principally indebted to the enterprise of those engaged in commercial pursuits. The same system was, however, persisted in, during the remainder of Mr. Jefferson's administration, upheld by a large majority in both houses of congress.

Many other acts of importance were passed during this last term of Mr. Jefferson's administration, especially those relating to the judiciary, the navy, and the army, but our limits will not permit us to go into the details of them. They were all intended for the public good, to preserve and protect our rights, both at home and abroad.

Mr. Jefferson during the whole course of his administration, maintained personally, the simplicity of a republican government. He avoided all ceremony and parade. The pomp and show of the old governments in Europe were not accordant, either to his feelings or principles. Instead of a coach and eight, as is the custom in some of the foreign nations, he not only in his private recreations, but in his official capacity, was often seen on horseback going to the capital and to other public departments, unattended even by a single servant. The example set by him was followed by other distinguished men high in honour and office, as proving the safety and security enjoyed under a republican form of government; thus contrasting in this point of view, the condition of the United States with that of Europe, where their kings and emperors hardly dare to appear in public, unless in great pomp and splendor, and surrounded by courtiers and soldiers.

Towards the close of his administration, Mr. Jefferson, by an almost unanimous vote in both houses of congress, as a testimony of their respect, was allowed the privilege of receiving all letters and packages, directed to him through the mail, free of postage during his life. This act was passed in February, 1809. On the 3d of March following, he retired from public life agreeable to his own declared wishes, and was succeeded in the office of president of the United States, by James Madison of Virginia, who had, during many years of Mr. Jefferson's administration, held the important office of secretary of state.

Upon his retirement from public life, in which he had spent most of his years, Mr. Jefferson appears to have engaged himself in the various literary and philosophical pursuits, to which in early life he had become so much attached.

Possessed of an ample landed estate in Virginia, called Monticello, a name almost equally distinguished as Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington, he, in the unassuming garb of a private citizen, devotes himself to the management of his domestic concerns, and those liberal studies by which he was enabled to fill so many public



offices, with honour to himself, and to the great benefit of our common country.

Mr. Jefferson having now become a private citizen, little of public interest, could be expected from him, as the feelings of the country were now in a high degree of excitement, and directed to those men who now held the great offices of government, yet such was his popularity, and the strong hold he had upon the affections of his fellow citizens, that almost every action of his life was observed or heard of, with pleasure and admiration. He opened a correspondence with his great political rival, *John Adams*, his predecessor in the office of president; and to this day it is continued in the genuine spirit of friendship and respect for each other. Many of the letters have been published in the newspapers, and probably no articles of the kind, have ever been read with more pleasure by the American people than these. It would appear from this correspondence, that these two great men, who were for so long a time at the head of the two political parties, which divided and distracted the country, were personally friendly to each other, and that their ostensible hostility was wholly owing to the spirit of party, which, during their public life, prevailed among the people; in a word, they found themselves placed against each other, by the opinions of those who preferred, as a politician, the one to the other, and not from any personal enmity between themselves.

Mr. Jefferson, during this period of his private life, never lost sight of the true interests of his country. His advice and counsel was sought and given. He became an ardent supporter of internal improvements and domestic manufactures. This change of his opinion on the latter subject, particularly, was a matter of much speculation at the time, it being alleged that it was utterly inconsistent with the opinions which he had formerly publicly avowed. In his notes on Virginia he had expressed his opinion to be, that our work-shops had better be on the other side of the Atlantic. He however satisfactorily justified himself, as to the different view he had taken of the subject, in a letter addressed to the Hon. Benjamin Austin, of Boston, in the year 1816. He therein stated that thirty years had elapsed since he wrote the notes on Virginia; that wonderful changes had taken place in this, as well as in foreign countries, since that period, and that now, to be independent, the United States ought not to be dependent on other nations for manufactures.

After the burning of the capitol, and other public buildings at Washington, by which, in the spirit of vandalism, the public records and library were destroyed, Mr. Jefferson, through the urgent request of many distinguished men, was induced to offer his own library to congress. It consisted of many rare and valuable books, selected with the utmost care by him, during his residence in various parts of Europe. Congress consented to the purchase of it, and allowed therefor the sum of twenty thousand dollars. Eighteen heavy wagons were employed in transporting this literary treasure from Monticello to Washington.

During the last few years, Mr. Jefferson has more particularly devoted himself to the great and important subject of education in his native state. A university is founded, of which he is emphatically the founder and benefactor. The arts and sciences are introduced in the most liberal extent, and he lives to witness its prosperity, as well as that of the nation over which he presided with so much honour and dignity, from 1801 to 1809.

In his declining life, being now more than eighty years of age, he appears to enjoy the full possession of his mental faculties. His company and conversation is sought after, by distinguished men, from all parts of our country, as also from those who visit us from foreign nations. Members of congress annually call upon this venerable statesman to pay their homage of respect for the great services he has rendered his country.

General La Fayette, in his visit to Virginia, where he was received with rapturous applause, in every section of the state, failed not to seek an interview with Mr. Jefferson, with whom he had formed a lasting attachment, not only in this country, during our revolutionary struggles, but also while he was in France, as our minister to that nation. The scene which took place between them, was truly affecting ; they recognised each other with those feelings which may be supposed to be excited in the hearts of two men, who, after a separation of many years, now once more found themselves together, not only to exchange their mutual sentiments of friendship for each other, but to recapitulate the successes and adversities which had attended them in their perilous struggles for liberty in the various parts of the world. They, in the course of their lives, had met with both ; but they were now beyond the reach of further political troubles ; the one, an honoured republican, enjoying peace and

happiness in retirement, after having received the highest offices in the gift of his countrymen ; the other, after having suffered almost every thing, short of death, in the cause of liberty in Europe, was now, throughout the world, recognised as the friend and benefactor of mankind ; and in this country, was not only received as the *Nation's Guest*, but rewarded by such honours throughout the whole of the United States, that a parallel of which can scarcely be found in the page of history.

These are the brief outlines of the public and private life of Thomas Jefferson ; a great man, raised by the providence of God, to be the early assertor and faithful defender of the liberties and independence of his country. He has contributed much to its prosperity, and is now receiving the respect and the tokens of filial affection from his fellow-citizens, from every quarter of our country.



## **JAMES MADISON, ESQ.**

Fourth President of the United States.

THE subject of this memoir was born in Orange County, in the state of Virginia, March 5th, 1750, O. S. His parents were the descendants of the earliest and most respectable inhabitants of the state. He was, at an early age, as is the custom in most of the middle and southern states, placed under the care and tuition of a private classical instructor, of the name of Robertson, in King and Queen County. His progress, in the studies prescribed for him, were such that at the age of fourteen, he was removed to Princeton College, New-Jersey, where he completed his education. Soon afterwards he was admitted to the bar, where he was distinguished for his talents, and the fidelity with which he discharged his duty towards his clients.

But a wider field, for the exercise of honourable ambition, was soon opened to his view. The discontents and contentions between the colonies and Great Britain, had already arrived to an alarming height ; and the time seemed to be rapidly approaching, when the States would be called upon either to defend their rights and liberties, by the force of arms, or tamely submit as slaves, to lawless and tyrannical power.

At the age of twenty-three, he commenced his career of public life, by being elected a member of the Virginia Legislature. In the year 1775, in the fulness of youthful ardour and enterprise, he joined a volunteer company, raised in Orange County, and placed himself among the foremost of those gallant-spirited Virginians, who nobly contended for their country's rights. In 1776, he was unanimously elected one of the council of his native state. In this situation he particularly distinguished himself, and at once attracted, by the purity of his character and the superiority of talents, the attention and admiration of his fellow-citizens. He continued in the council, or state legislature, until he was elected a member of the old congress, where he continued, under the old confederation and present constitution, until the year 1800, it being the third year of Mr. Adams' administration. He then retired from public life ; but such qualifications as he possessed, both as an individual and a states-

man, were not permitted to remain unemployed ; he was, within a year after, by an unanimous vote of his own district, chosen a member of the Virginia Assembly, which, at that time, was decidedly opposed to the course of policy pursued by the national government. Several important resolutions were passed during this session of the assembly, strongly condemning many of the most prominent measures adopted by congress ; among these, were those on the alien and sedition laws, commonly called Madison's resolutions, which, at the time, created great excitement throughout the country.

The period had now arrived, when Mr. Madison was to be called to occupy a still higher and more responsible office in the councils of his country, than he had ever heretofore filled. A revolution in politics had taken place. The republican party had succeeded in the choice of Mr. Jefferson as President of the United States, in the place of Mr. Adams. A new cabinet was to be formed from among the able and distinguished men of the nation, who had so successfully struggled against what they considered an overbearing and aristocratic administration. Mr. Madison was selected, by Mr. Jefferson, to be Secretary of State, the first and most important office in the gift of the executive. His talents and industry had rendered him peculiarly qualified for the discharge of the duties of this highly important trust. Possessed of an ample patrimony, he had, for many years, notwithstanding his public avocations, found leisure to devote himself to the study of politics as a science ; and few men better understood the relations of this country with foreign powers, or more fully comprehended the true construction of the constitution of the United States. He had participated in all the discussions preliminary to its adoption, and had exerted every effort to render it acceptable to the people. In order to explain, to enlighten and instruct his countrymen, on the provisions of this invaluable instrument, he in conjunction with two of the ablest statesmen and patriots, which this or any other country could boast, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, published the celebrated work called "*The Federalist* ;" which is now, both in this and foreign nations, considered as one of the ablest political productions which has ever appeared in any age or country. While in congress, after the adoption of the constitution, he distinguished himself as a champion, no less of religious, than of civil liberty ; and though enthusiastic in the support of the federal government, as established, he was particularly anxious

to preserve the rights of the several states, which were not expressly surrendered to the general government. Consequently, in the debates which took place in that body, on all questions relating to the great principles upon which the union of the United States were founded, he was remarked for the nice discriminations, which he constantly made, between the relative powers of the state and general governments ; in all of which, he was recognised as the able and patriotic advocate of the rights and privileges of the people. While in congress, Mr. Madison was no less distinguished for the urbanity and amiableness of his manners and deportment, than for his superior abilities. Unostentatious and retiring, he never wounded the pride or vanity of others, but established, among his colleagues, the most durable and cordial friendships. His approach to popularity, in a national point of view, was gradual, and entirely through the intrinsic force of his intellect. Both his writings and speeches, during this period, were as refreshing to an intelligent community as they were soothing and healing in the irritations of controversy. He was every where recognised as the faithful and able statesman ; and what is still more decisive in his favour, he constantly enjoyed the moral support of the better part of society. To use the language of one of his cotemporaries in congress : “ so pure were his motives, so universally salutary were his aims, that he made no personal enemies ; and even in the heat of party strife, he secured the respect of his opponents.”

Such were the qualifications and character of Mr. Madison, when he was called to the department of state by Mr. Jefferson. Party spirit, at this time, and during the several succeeding years, in which he discharged the duties of this highly responsible office, was perhaps never more highly excited. All Europe was involved in war. And such was the extremity to which Great Britain and France carried on their bloody conflicts, that they had alternately violated the fundamental maxims of maritime hostility ; and neutral commerce, which was during this convulsed period, principally carried on by the United States, become entrapped or sacrificed, by the arbitrary regulations adopted by each of these two powerful nations. Mr. Madison therefore, found that all his faculties and attention were called to the performance of high and extraordinary duties. Questions continually arose which required profound researches into the elements of the law of nations, and for the correct ex-



position and security of the rights of his country, he had to contend with the most experienced and accomplished ministers in Europe. England, as she was more powerful on the ocean, than any other nation, had committed the greatest and most frequent aggressions on the sovereign rights of the United States. As early as the summer of 1804, a British frigate, the *Cambrian*, with other cruizers in company, while the two countries were at peace, actually entered the harbour of New-York, and her commander, in violation of the laws, relative both to health and revenue, caused a merchant vessel just arrived, and admitted to be within the limits and under the authority of the United States, to be boarded by persons under his command, and who, after resisting the officers of the port, in the legal execution of their duties, actually impressed and carried off a number of seamen and passengers in British ships of war. This was not only a flagrant insult to the sovereignty of the nation, but a palpable infraction on its neutrality also, which did not permit a belligerent ship, to augment in this manner, its force, within a neutral territory. And this was not all; the commander of the *Cambrian* went so far as to declare, in his official capacity to the government of the United States, that he considered his ship, whilst lying in the harbour of New-York, as having dominion around her within the distance of her buoys. Various other irregularities and encroachments of British ships of war, had both before and after this period, taken place; and a detailed statement of them, in the just expectation of honorable reparation, was made to the British government, but none was ever offered. So far from it, that even the captain who committed these outrages, was advanced from a frigate to the command of a ship of the line. Other outrages upon the peace and sovereignty of the United States followed in rapid succession. Among the most important were those directed by Captain Whitby, of the frigate *Leander*. He, as superior in command of several British frigates, had for a long time, vexed and harassed the inward and outward trade of our ports, and finally, to close a series of lawless conduct, he attempted to arrest a coasting vessel in the harbour of New-York, by which an American citizen was killed by a cannon ball, which entered the vessel whilst lying within less than a mile from the shore. It can easily be imagined, that the sensibility of the American people was aroused from one end of the country to the other, at this bloody act, committed within the sanctuary of her own territorial jurisdiction. A solemn

appeal to the justice of Great Britain was made, with a demand that the offender should receive the exemplary punishment which he so richly deserved ; and that there might be no failure of legal proof of a fact sufficiently notorious of itself, the most unexceptionable witnesses to establish it, were sent to Great Britain, at the expense of the United States. Yet after all, the British Captain was not only acquitted, but promoted, and no apology or explanation was ever made by that government, as a conciliatory offering to the disappointment of this country, at such a result.

It was not long after this deliberate insult was offered to the rights and sovereignty of our country, before another of an extraordinary character occurred. In the month of September, 1806, the *Impeteur*, a French ship of 74 guns, was run aground within a few hundred yards of the shore of North Carolina, and of course was visibly within the territorial jurisdiction and hospitable protection of the United States. While in this distressing situation, she was fired upon, boarded and burnt by several British ships of war, then hovering around the coast. Having completed this, in addition to other outrages on the sovereignty and neutrality of the United States, the British commander proceeded with his fleet into the waters near Norfolk ; and although enjoying every hospitality which one friendly people could afford to another, he refused to discharge from his ships, the impressed American seamen, acknowledged to be such, on the ground that the government of the United States had refused to surrender to Admiral Berkley, certain seamen alleged to be British deserters—a demand which it was well understood the British government disclaimed any right to make, knowing that it was not warranted either by mutual treaties or the law of nations. This insult was aggravated, from the very circumstance, that not half a century had elapsed, since, in consequence of a similar violation of neutral territory, by the destruction of certain French ships on the coast of Portugal, by a British squadron under the command of a favourite British Admiral, the Court of Great Britain despatched a minister extraordinary for the express purpose of expiating the aggression on the sovereignty of a friendly power.

In consequence of these repeated insults and injuries, the well known proclamation was published, interdicting to them the use and privileges of the harbours and waters of the United States. This proclamation was dated July 2, 1807,

in the hope and expectation, that Great Britain would from a sense of justice and humanity, put an end to the uncontrouled and licentious spirit of her naval commanders.

It ought to be observed, that this proclamation was not issued, until after the unjustifiable and outrageous attack upon the Chesapeake, by the British ship of war *Leopard*; a case too familiar with every American to need a particular recital. It is sufficient to say, that the attack on the Chesapeake was most wanton and outrageous, without any real pretence of law or justice, and this too, made on a ship unprepared for battle, especially against the force of a power who at that very moment, was professing the most sincere desire for peace and harmony between the two countries. The event of this encounter aroused the feelings of the people of the United States to the highest degree of excitement. It was considered as a most cruel and unprovoked attack, not made, so much for the object pretended, that of reclaiming a deserter, as to insult our flag, and mortify and wound the spirit of every American patriot. Public meetings were called together in every section of the country, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and one universal burst of indignation was every where expressed at this additional outrage upon the rights and sovereignty of the United States.

No atonement was offered by the British government, although repeated efforts were made to obtain redress in a peaceable manner, rather than to have recourse to arms, the last, though sometimes the only resort, left a nation to obtain satisfaction for injuries already sustained, or security of her rights in future. Such were some of the principal acts of encroachment, practised by Great Britain, upon the sovereignty of the United States, as well in direct opposition to the principles by which that kingdom had always professed herself to be governed, as against the acknowledged laws of nations. England, however, was not alone in this unjustifiable invasion of the rights of a neutral nation.—France, also, in her career of almost universal dominion, although from the inferiority of her naval force, it was not in her power to affect our rights on the ocean, to as great an extent as Great Britain; yet by her arbitrary decrees and confiscations in foreign ports, greatly interrupted and almost sacrificed the commerce of the United States in various parts of the world. In the midst of these embarrassments, created by the conduct of the two most formidable powers in Europe, both of whom seemed determined to in-



volve the whole world in a participation of the war waged between them, Mr. Madison particularly distinguished himself in his correspondence and negotiations with the ministers of both nations. The administration were sincerely disposed in favor of preserving peace, if it could be maintained without a sacrifice of the indubitable rights of a free and independent people. War was, on every consideration, to be avoided if possible,—it was contrary to the spirit and wishes of our fellow-citizens. The United States had thrived and grown up under the benign blessings of peace, beyond any former example on the page of history. To avoid the distressing consequences of war, therefore, the administration exerted every means in their power, to preserve the honour and rights of the country, by amicable and peaceful arrangements.

In this attempt, no statesman ever displayed a greater fund of learning, a more equal temper, or more acute reasoning and triumphant logic, than Mr. Madison. He left his adversaries without justification, and made it apparent to the world, that the two great belligerent powers in Europe, disregarding principles, relied on nothing but their naval and military strength. The masterly state papers written by him, during this period of national suffering, contain a fund of argument for future occasions, applicable to almost every variety of incident, to which a warfare among nations can give rise.

After having performed the arduous duties of Secretary of State, during Mr. Jefferson's administration; in the performance of which, he had so remarkably distinguished himself, as a scholar, a statesman, and patriot, Mr. Madison, in the year 1808, was elected by a great majority of votes, President of the United States. On the 4th of March, 1809, he was sworn to the faithful performance of the high trust reposed in him; greater perhaps, than that of any other office held by man—the guardianship of the rights, liberties, and religion of ten millions of free and independent people.

Entering upon the presidency, he found the difficulties between this and foreign nations, which for a time seemed to be diminishing, now greatly increased. The restrictive system adopted under the former administration, was still adhered to, with the double view of protecting our own commerce, and withholding supplies from those powers who had so unjustly violated the rights of the United States. The war in Europe had been carried on to an extent, never be-

fore witnessed, since the invasion of ancient Rome. Not content with actual battle between themselves, France and England, though both engaged in a deadly contest with each other, seemed simultaneously to resolve, that no country should remain neutral. The Berlin and Milan decrees, on the part of France, and the Orders of Council, on that of Great Britain, were issued, which at once put an end to the security or safety of all commercial enterprise, pursued by American merchants. In this state of difficulty and embarrassment, no alternative was left for government, to protect her undoubted rights and privileges, but that, of a declaration of hostilities, against that nation, who had by her impressment of our seamen, by the plunder of our commerce, and by her repeated and outrageous violations of the sovereignty of a neutral nation, forfeited every claim upon the hospitality or friendly intercourse with the United States.

President Madison was fully aware of the magnitude of the measure, and its probable consequences ; but after so many years of lawless depredation, he felt as though the crisis had arrived, when the honour, as well as the best interests of the country, demanded decisive and energetic measures on the part of government. Accordingly, agreeable to his recommendation, it was declared by congress, " that war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist, between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependences thereof, and the United States of America, and their Territories ; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States, to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the U. States, against the vessels, goods, and effects, of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof." This act, commonly known by the name of the second war for independence, was approved on the 18th of June, 1812.

Like all other contests, in which questions of right, are submitted to the decision of the sword, this war was distinguished for its vicissitudes ; although it finally terminated to the honour and advantage of the United States.

At the commencement of the conflict, the enemy appeared to possess the most decided advantage. Her ships of war off the principal ports of our cities, and her troops on the

northern frontier, as if in anticipation of the event, which had now taken place, were already in motion. Our merchant ships, especially those on their return from distant and long voyages, fell an easy prey to their superior force. The north-western army, under the command of General Hull, was compelled to surrender to the British forces, led on by General Brock. Detroit, the key of that part of the Territories of the United States, of course, fell into the hands of the British; which opened a free communication with the numerous tribes of Indians already prepared by the seductions and artifices of English agents, to commit every barbarity peculiar to Indian warfare. Other similar, though less important events, took place at the early period of the war. As the war continued, however, the achievements of American warriors, both by land and sea, were such as to shed an imperishable lustre on the name of the Republic, the reputation of whose heroic sons, will continue to shine with a brilliancy that no time can efface. The first naval engagement that took place between the American and British ships in this war, was determined in the capture of the British frigate *Guerriere*, Capt. Dacres, by the frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Capt. Hull. After a fierce and bloody encounter, the British frigate was surrendered, then burnt, and her captain and crew, brought into Boston, as prisoners of war. This gallant achievement, so honourable to the spirit and bravery of our seamen, inspired the whole country with enthusiasm, and was deemed a full equivalent for the disasters, which had before been experienced. To have conquered the mistress of the ocean, even-handed, as was the fact in this engagement, was considered, throughout the country, as a happy prelude to still further victorious trophies. England had, hitherto, held undisputed sway on the ocean: other nations seemed to have bowed, in humble acquiescence, to her supremacy; but the battle between the *Constitution* and *Guerriere* dissolved the charm, and the world was convinced that seamen, fighting in the cause of liberty and independence, were superior, in combat, to the slaves and myrmidons of British despotism.

Other victories and engagements, honourable to the American navy, followed in rapid succession. In no single instance, whatever, during the war, did an American ship yield to an equal force; but, on the contrary, in every action, where the British had not the decided superiority, in number of ships, men and guns, the flag of the United States



came off triumphant. As evidence of this assertion, the reader need only to be referred to the capture of the *Guerriere*, already mentioned, of the *Macedonian*, *Java*, *Frolic*, *Cayenne* and *Levant*, of the signal victories obtained by the *Hornet*, *Peacock*, and others, equally distinguished, but especially to the two great and decisive engagements between the fleets of the contending powers, on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. In both instances, the forces were nearly equal; certain it is, that in neither were the Americans superior in number of ships or guns; yet she conquered her enemy on his favourite element, and thus saved and secured, by these two victories, the north from British invasion, and the north-west from British and Indian massacre. Private armed ships were also peculiarly successful; in every conflict they succeeded, and the commerce of Great Britain was so much interrupted that it was not long before that government began to perceive that it had no ordinary foe to encounter. Her ships were captured, her commerce interrupted, and her population, which, in a considerable degree, were dependent on the exportations of the United States, for their employment and support, were reduced not only to a state of distress, but to the very verge of rebellion.

The only disasters of consequence, which happened to the navy of the United States, were those which occurred when attacked by an overwhelming force. The *Essex*, after a brave and desperate defence, under the command of Commodore Porter, was obliged to strike her flag to two of the enemy's ships, both engaged in the attack. The gallant Decatur, who had so often distinguished himself for his courage and conduct, both in the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic, was captured in the frigate *President*, of forty-four guns, by a British squadron, consisting of a seventy-four gun ship and several frigates. He, however, in this hour of adversity, displayed all those traits of character, which had so justly endeared him in the affections of his countrymen. He disabled, in this unequal struggle, one of the enemy's frigates, and continued the desperate conflict, until his ship was literally cut to pieces, and surrounded by other vessels of the hostile squadron. Even the *Chesapeake*, that ill-fated ship, commanded by the brave and lamented Lawrence, was surrendered to a force in every respect her superior. She was challenged by the *Shannon*, commanded by Capt. Broke, who had, as was afterwards ascertained, recruited his ship with an additional supply of men from other vessels belong-

ing to the British navy. The high-minded Lawrence could not refuse the offered battle, and he sailed from Boston harbour, with a crew consisting partly of foreigners, discontented and almost mutinous, to meet the insulting enemy of his country. Although his courageous spirit could not but be admired, it was, by many, considered as a rash and desperate enterprise, considering the situation of his ship, and the probable preparations which had been made by his challenging adversary. The battle lasted more than an hour, in which he, and many of his brave officers and crew, fell martyrs in the cause of their country's rights and independence. The carnage was dreadful on both sides, and the principal officers of each ship were either killed or severely wounded. Capt. Broke, himself, though not killed, was carried to Halifax, blind and senseless. These were the principal unfortunate events which occurred to the United States, on the ocean, during the war.

The vicissitudes of our arms on the land, however, were more frequent, and sometimes truly alarming. The military spirit of the country had hardly become aroused; since the revolutionary war, our citizens had been accustomed to the employment incidental to a state of peace and tranquillity, and were now called upon, for the first time of this generation, to meet, in battle array, the most powerful nation of Europe. In addition to this unfavourable situation for the prosecution of war, Mr. Madison, at the head of the administration, found himself embarrassed with an empty treasury, erroneous and unprofitable loans, clashing jurisdictions of state and national authorities, and militia scruples, which seemed, for a time, to leave the whole frontier exposed to the lawless depredations of the enemy.

After the capitulation at Detroit, entered into between General Hull and General Brock, the whole of that immense territory of the United States, lying at the north-west, was opened to all the barbarities which British or savage malice could devise. The inhuman massacre of the army under General Winchester, at the River Raisin, in which the flower of Kentucky was cut down, was one of the many deplorable consequences of that ill-advised and calamitous act. Other parts of the United States were invaded and taken possession of by the British; but as the war advanced, the success of the American arms became more and more conspicuous. On the northern frontier, where the enemy had, for a length of time, exercised almost uncontrolled do-

minion, many severe battles were fought, among which those of Chippewa, Niagara, and the sortie from Fort Erie, will ever be remembered with honest pride and exultation, by every American patriot. The names of Brown, Scott, Ripley, Gaines and Jessup, are identified with that of their country, and with those of their compatriots, (although engaged in a different sphere) Hull, Decatur, Bainbridge, Porter, Perry, McDonough, and many others, equally distinguished, will be handed down, on the page of history, as the faithful defenders of the liberties of their country, to the latest posterity.

In 1814, the war had assumed a more decided and threatening aspect, than at any former period. The British, by their superiority of maritime power, were enabled to blockade almost every port and harbour of consequence throughout the whole extent of our seaboard. Their fleets were constantly stationed near Boston, New-London, New-York, at the mouth of the Delaware, and in the Chesapeake, and indeed at every place, from which the merchant vessels of the United States, and more especially, her private and public armed ships might be supposed to sail, or to which, from long and distant voyages and cruizes, they might be expected to return.

The fallen fortunes of the Emperor of France, had placed England at the head of the European powers; and the United States now beheld themselves left to combat, single handed, with that formidable nation. In the intoxication of her success in Europe, her naval commanders in this quarter, committed the most cruel and wanton excesses, that had ever occurred in a warfare between christian or civilized nations; among others, the almost defenceless towns and villages of Havre de Grace, Frenchtown and Hampton, were attacked, and every species of atrocity witnessed, that would even disgrace the Turk or Algerine; pillage, murder, and rape, were the licensed indulgences of infuriated British seamen and soldiers. Not content with these, and similar outrages, the British forces, in August, 1814, proceeded to Washington City, which they captured; and in the spirit of the ancient Goths and Vandals, destroyed its public buildings, including the president's house, the capitol, the navy yard, and the offices of different departments of government, together with the state records, and national library.



In these times of adversity, President Madison did not shrink from the impending danger, but invoked his countrymen to arms, by every consideration which could inspire the hearts of freemen with ardour, and exhibited an energy of character which increased with the perils of the hour. The day of retribution for these unparalleled barbarities, was at hand. The same forces that had so ingloriously captured and burnt the City of Washington, soon after made an attempt upon the City of Baltimore, in which their commander in chief, General Ross, with several other principal officers, were killed ; and their whole army, after sustaining a severe loss were driven to an ignominious flight on board their ships. This victory, over a proud and insulting foe, was deemed, at least an equivalent for the actual loss of lives, at the capture and burning of Washington,—a transaction, which, Lord Grenville, who had ever before been considered during the time of Mr. Pitt, and his successors in office, as opposed to the growing interests of the United States, declared in the British House of Lords, to be an act of barbarity, inconsistent with European manners, or civilized warfare.

But the most signal victory obtained during this war, by American, over British soldiers, was at New Orleans on the 8th of January, 1815. That city had for a long time been menaced, by the enemy, and various attempts had been made to obtain possession of it, but they were successfully repelled. Previous to the 8th of January, every preparation had been made on the part of England to capture this important city, which, from its local situation, was the natural depot of the produce and manufactures of all the western states, and was of course in possession of the key of the commerce of that part of the country with the Atlantic states, as well as other parts of the world. A large force, consisting of from twelve to fifteen thousand men, most of whom had served in the campaigns of Europe, was fitted out under the command of Sir Edward Packenham, who was a relative of, and had been a favourite general under the Duke of Wellington. They approached the city in full confidence of success ; their watch word being, in the spirit by which they were actuated, *Beauty and Booty*. But little did they dream of the awful reception they were to meet with. The gallant Jackson, who had so often distinguished himself, by his patriotic and soldierlike conduct during the war, was already selected by government to defend this

part of the Union from the impending invasion. With a sagacity, promptitude and exertion, almost unparalleled, every necessary means of defence were prepared, and although with an army of less than five thousand men, he completely vanquished the invading foe, who lost in the conflict, not only a great proportion of their army, but many of their principal officers, among whom was their commander in chief, Sir Edward Pakenham, and the second in command, Gen. Gibbs ; the third in command also, Gen. Keane, was supposed to have been mortally wounded, he having been carried off from the field, in the early part of the engagement. This was indeed a proud day for America, but an equally humiliating one to Great Britain. Being released from her conflicts in continental Europe, she fitted out and despatched to this country, a much more powerful force, whether considered in point of numbers, or the skill and experience of her officers and soldiers, than she had at any former period of the war. Although on the northern frontier, the American arms during the preceding year had proved victorious, and the battles fought in that quarter were distinguished for the obstinacy and carnage with which they were conducted, yet though defeated, the British boasted of the equal conflict. But not so at New Orleans,—the victory there obtained by Gen. Jackson, is almost without a parallel in the annals of the world. With comparatively a handful of men, he preserved the principal city of the south and west, from rape, plunder and destruction, against a confident enemy, of nearly threefold his numerical strength.

This unexpected blow, was deeply felt in England. Her national pride was mortified ; but she was more sensibly affected by the loss of so many of her distinguished warriors. In the death of Gen. Pakenham particularly, they experienced the sacrifice of a man in a desperate enterprise, whose place in her armies it was not easy to supply. But the British government, through a wounded and humiliated spirit, at first, refused the usual honours to his memory, which had before been uniformly conferred on similar characters ; Lord Castlereagh, in his place in the House of Commons, declaring, that however meritorious might be the character of that lamented officer, or however distinguished his services, yet the particular occasion on which he lost his valuable life, was not of that description, which could justify his majesty's ministers in proposing to record it by a public monument. Thus indirectly admitting the skill and brave-

ry of the Americans in the defence of New Orleans, to be superior to that displayed by his own countrymen in the attack. It is but justice however to remark, that not many weeks after, the same minister rose, in the same house, and moved for funeral honors to Major-General Sir Edward Packenham, who fell at New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1815, and than whom, he said, few could have performed more eminent services. He stated that Gen. Packenham had received a wound at the storming of St. Lucie, and another at Martinique. It was his particular wish to be sent out to serve in the Peninsula, where he took an able share in the battle of Talavera, but he particularly distinguished himself in the battle of Salamanca. Here, having led on the third division, he turned the enemy's left wing, and so exerted himself as to acquire the marked applause of the duke of Wellington and the whole army. Other services had been rendered, and a resolution was carried unanimously, to cause a monument to be erected to his memory in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.

To have conquered a superior force, under the command of such an experienced and able general, may well be supposed to have diffused universal joy and triumph throughout the United States. The gloom which had for a considerable time prevailed, was now dissipated, and every American bosom was inspired with confidence in the strength and ability of its country, to defend and protect her rights and liberties.

But the period had now nearly arrived, when recourse to arms was no longer necessary. The negotiations at Ghent, although at this time unknown in the United States, had terminated in a pacific issue, in the month of December preceding. In the month of February, the glad tidings of peace reached this country, and never was a national act more joyfully announced throughout the several states, than this. For although the war had been conducted with honour and glory, on the part of the administration, yet the country had suffered, in consequence of the interruption and sacrifice of her accustomed pursuits, especially those of a mercantile or commercial nature; her ports had been blockaded, and on the ocean, there was hardly a possibility of an escape from capture, by some of the numerous British cruizers, which covered every sea. To be relieved, from a state of such embarrassment and distress, and to have the wide world thrown open to the free and uninterrupted exer-



tions of our enterprising and industrious citizens, was an event, by every one anxiously desired, and every where justly appreciated.

Peace being established, the administration had only to pursue a course, adapted to the altered situation of the country. President Madison therefore, turned his whole attention to advance those interests, and remedy those defects, which the experience of the late war had developed, as peculiar to the American people. The resuscitation of trade and commerce, the re-establishment of the finances, the institution of a National Bank, to prevent in future, the embarrassments of government through the want of pecuniary resources, with many other salutary acts, characterise the close of his administration, and bear ample testimony to the comprehensiveness of his views and the accuracy of his judgment.

In his retirement, like his two illustrious predecessors, from the most honourable and exalted office, in the power of a free people to bestow, he is enjoying the respect, gratitude and veneration of his fellow citizens. He was called to the presidency in a very difficult period of our history, and though perhaps better qualified for the discharge of the duties of that office in times of peace and tranquillity, it was nevertheless his lot, to guide the helm of government, during the only serious and alarming war, in which his country had been engaged since that of her independence. He was ever distinguished as a scholar and a statesman; his imagination lively but not ardent; his wit refined and poignant; his penetration quick and discriminating; and his reserve in affairs of state, was habitual, politic and wise. No breach of promise could be imputed to him, for he was guilty of none. His views concerning the best interests of his country, for the most part, first appeared in his measures adopted, or recommended to the legislative branch of government; and his honesty as a statesman was never questioned, although frequently surrounded by intrigues and beset with importunities. It is also observed of him, that in his public life, he rarely resorted to any trick of expediency, but uniformly sought to govern men more by their reason than their passions. His political writings from the day of his earliest efforts, to the last of his public life, are particularly distinguished for a style at once easy, natural, and classically English; they were intended not to dazzle, but to convince; not to amuse the fancy, but to satisfy the

understanding. His colloquial powers are also mentioned as being both instructive and agreeable, sometimes exerted in political or philosophical discussion, and sometimes employed in the playfulness of wit and humour, according to the different situations in which he may be placed.

In conclusion, it may with confidence be observed, that the mind of James Madison is of the very first order. It unites simplicity with grandeur, dignity with moderation, and delights more in the mildness of persuasion, than in the harshness of reproof.

It is doubtful whether America has ever produced a more excellent Statesman ; it is certain, that she has never seen a more honourable and upright man.

## JAMES MONROE, ESQ.

Fifth President of the United States.

FEW American statesmen have been so distinguished for the length of public life, or eminent services rendered their country, as James Monroe. He was a native of Virginia, born upon the banks of the Potomac, in the year 1759. Although his ancestors were respectable, and among the earliest emigrants to this country, he had, in early life, to rely wholly upon his own exertions for success. He had no powerful family connexions to support him; no paternal inheritance to give him importance in society. He however had received a regular collegiate education at the university of William and Mary, in his native state. Ardently devoted to his country, he took part in the revolutionary war, when but a youth, and on several occasions was distinguished for his undaunted courage. He was among those who literally shed their blood in the cause of independence; and the firmness and gallantry of his conduct, in every instance, ensured for him the respect and esteem of all those with whom he acted. As early as 1776, he obtained a commission in one of the regiments raised in Virginia, and joined the army at New-York, under the command of General Washington. He was in the battle fought at *Haerlam Heights*, and at *White Plains*, as also in those of *Brandywine*, *Germantown*, and *Monmouth*. But he was, perhaps, more particularly distinguished in the celebrated "Victory of Trenton," than in any other; in which he performed a very active part, and received severe wounds, with which he long lingered, and which he barely survived. Some particulars of that important event, at that time so inspiriting to the almost disheartened Americans, are given by General Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, and must be read with interest by all who feel for their country's honour.

"It was broad day," observes the General, "and the storm beat violently in our faces. The attack had commenced on the left, and was immediately answered by Colonel Stark, in our front, who forced the enemy's picket and pressed into the town, our column being close at his heels. The enemy made a momentary shew of resistance, by a wild, undirected



fire from the windows of their quarters, which they abandoned, as we advanced, and made an attempt to form in the main-street, which might have succeeded, but for a six-gun battery, opened by Capt. T. Forrest, under the immediate order of General Washington, at the head of King's-street, which annoyed the enemy in various directions ; and the decision of Capt. William Washington, who, seconded by *Lieutenant Monroe*, (afterwards President of the United States) led the advanced guard of the left column, perceiving that the enemy were endeavouring to form a battery, *rushed forward, drove the artillerists from their guns, and took two pieces in the act of firing.*

“ These officers were *both* wounded in the charge ; the captain in the wrist, *the lieutenant through the shoulder.* These particular acts of gallantry have never been noticed, *and yet they could not have been too highly appreciated ;* for if the enemy had got his artillery into operation, in a narrow street, it might have checked our movement, and given him time to form and reflect ; and if he had retired across the bridge in his rear, and taken post, he would have placed a defile between us, which, in our half naked, half frozen condition, he ought to have defended against our utmost efforts ; *and we in turn might have been compelled to retreat, which would have been fatal to us.*”

Such distinguished acts of bravery, as were displayed by the young Monroe, could not escape the notice of his country, and we find him successively promoted, through the various grades of office, to that of the command of a regiment, to be raised in his native state. He was also, about this period, appointed, by the government of Virginia, a military commissioner, in which capacity he visited the army in the southern states. His conduct, in the performance of the duties of this office, like that which had characterised him uniformly before, was such as to meet with the undivided and unqualified approbation of his country.

During this period of life he had become sincerely devoted to Washington, a warm admirer and imitator of Jefferson, and the companion and friend of Madison. It is no common praise to be associated with such names, and the high estimation in which he was held by them, was subsequently exemplified, by their several selections of him for the most important commissions and appointments, and confiding to him the discussion and arrangement of the primary interests of the nation, both at home and abroad. After having serv-

ed his country in the field, he was, towards the close of the war, called to a seat in the highest councils in his native state, and in 1783 he was elected a member of the old congress, in which he was instrumental, among the venerable sages of the republic, in effecting the formation of the present constitution of the United States. He was one of those, however, who partook of the fears of Patrick Henry, that too much power was vested in the general government, at the expense of the rights and sovereignty of the several states, and was particularly anxious to guard against the influence of what were considered the aristocratic features of that document. Time, indeed, has convinced him, as it has convinced many of his cotemporaries, that their apprehensions were groundless, and shown, that although there was something to be dreaded from the consolidation and the excess of executive authority, there was also something to be feared from anarchy. After long debates, an infinite deal of animadversion, through the medium of the press, and the most violent altercations of party, the constitution has found its just balance, and the good and wise of every description of citizens, now unite in opinion, that the presidential power is so checked, that, whether in the circumstances of peace or of war, it is impossible for the chief magistrate to abuse, to any serious extent, the trust committed to his hands.

Having studied law, Mr. Monroe afterwards, for some years, pursued the practice of the law ; but his principal course of life has been political. In the legislature of Virginia, and in the new congress of the United States, he was uniformly distinguished as being one of the most intelligent, active, and efficient members.

In the year 1794, soon after the commencement of the French Revolution, he was chosen, by President Washington, to represent the United States, near the French government. Being devoted, from his earliest years, to the cause of liberty, the warmth of his sentiments for the rights of man and the freedom of nations, led him, in some measure, to depart from the sage and cautious policy of that illustrious patriot, by whom he was recalled. This occurrence took place at a time when party spirit prevailed to an uncommon degree in this country, on the subject of the revolution in France, and when a majority of the members of General Washington's administration, as well as a majority of their fellow-citizens, were opposed to the principles and policy adopted by the then rulers of the French Republic. Mr.

Monroe, conscious of the purity of his motives, most sensibly felt this mark of censure upon his public conduct, and on his return to America, he published his vindication, which seemed to satisfy the great body of the people, that, if he had erred, it was more from a generous feeling for the wrongs which tyrants inflicted on their fellow-creatures, than from any perversity of inclination to deviate from his instructions. Even General Washington, though he had felt himself constrained to take this unpleasant step, never hesitated to declare his confidence in the integrity and patriotism of Mr. Monroe. It was a difference of opinion only as to the political course most expedient for the United States to pursue, at that critical period, that caused the return of the ambassador.

Not long after the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, Mr. Monroe, after having filled the office of Governor of Virginia, during the constitutional term of three years, and received a unanimous vote of thanks from both branches of the legislature, was once more called into the service of the general government. He was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of France. Though the duties, devolved upon him by this appointment, were arduous, it may well be supposed that it was grateful to his feelings. To be appointed, with additional powers, to the same office, in a foreign nation, from which, a few years before, he had been recalled, was evidence to the world that the confidence of his country in his integrity and abilities, still remained undiminished. During his mission at the Court of St. Cloud, among other national objects accomplished, the most important was the final execution, in conjunction with Robert R. Livingston, of the treaty with the French government, by which the whole of Louisiana, including all that immense territory beyond the Mississippi, was ceded to the United States.

Having accomplished the principal objects for which he was sent to France, he was directed to proceed to London, having been appointed the successor of Mr. Rufus King, as Minister to the Court of St. James. After remaining sometime at this court, he proceeded, as Ambassador, to the Spanish Court at Madrid, in order to conclude a treaty between that government and the United States. Not being able at that time, to effect this object, he again returned to London, where he continued in his official capacity for several years. It was during this period, that the greatest difficulties attended both our intercourse and negotiations,



with England. She had already by her impressment of American seamen, her attack upon the Chesapeake, a national ship, and other equally wanton and lawless abuse of the dignity and sovereignty of the United States, excited a strong feeling of indignation among a great majority of the American people, which was still more highly excited by the obstinate refusal on the part of the British government to make reparation, or atonement.

Upon the death of Mr. Pitt and the succession of Mr. Fox, as *premier* in the British government, which was considered as a most happy event for the United States, Mr. Monroe, in conjunction with Mr. William Pinckney, succeeded in concluding a treaty between the two countries. Although it was admitted on all hands that it was the very best that could be obtained at the time, it was not approved by Mr. Jefferson—subsequent events, however, have rendered it doubtful, whether it would not have been better to have accepted it, imperfect as it was. Soon after this period, Mr. Monroe returned to America, and retired from public life to his seat in his native state. His fellow citizens however, were unwilling that he should long remain in this situation. His services and abilities were required for the good of the community at large, and he was once more elected to the office of Chief Magistrate of Virginia.

In 1811, When our political relations with France and England were in a most perplexed and unsettled state, and the negotiations between the United States and those formidable powers, were attended with the utmost difficulty and labour, Mr. Monroe was appointed Secretary of State, and the ability and firmness displayed in his correspondence with foreign ministers, were such as to excite the admiration of the American people: but aggressions upon the rights and sovereignty of the United States, were still persisted in, especially by England, and no alternative was left to government, but to declare, as she did, the well known war of 1812, against that overbearing nation.

In these trying and perilous times, no man stood more distinguished for firmness, ability, and patriotism, than Mr. Monroe. During the earlier part of the war, the success was various on either side. But after peace had taken place among the powers of Europe, England was left to direct the whole of her forces against this country. In every quarter, both by sea and land, the United States were exposed to the attack of the enemy. Castine was taken; our harbours were

blockaded ; Baltimore and other places, assaulted ; Washington burnt ; and New-Orleans, that key of the western world, was threatened with invasion by a numerous army, led on by generals who had been experienced in battle against Spain, Portugal, and France. At this gloomy period, when the most confident began to hesitate, Mr. Monroe was called to fill the Department of War, while at the same time, he was at the head of that, of State. Immediately after this appointment, the war assumed a new and cheering aspect. The Americans were successful in various engagements ; and above all, the glorious victory at New-Orleans was obtained by General Jackson, over an invading British army, consisting of three times the number of troops commanded by him. This joyful event took place on the 8th of January, 1815. In the month of February following, the news of peace arrived in this country. Upon which, Mr. Monroe retired from the war department, but continued to act as Secretary of State, until the 4th of March, 1817, when he was called to fill the highest office in the gift of his countrymen, that of President of the United States—thus proving that they were not forgetful, that the blaze of glory with which the campaign of 1814, closed, was in a great measure owing to the unceasing exertions which he had made to rally the nation to the vindication of its rights, and the defence of its territory.

His inaugural address was replete with the principles of a patriot and statesman, by which he had been governed through so long and useful a public life. But notwithstanding the war had been brought to a close, Mr. Monroe at the commencement of his administration, was fully sensible that he had a difficult part to perform.

With the termination of the wars of the French Revolution, party spirit became almost, if not wholly, extinct. There were numbers, however, who clung to its image. By party they had become consequential, and they were unwilling to witness the cessation of the cause of their self-importance. Mr. Monroe perceived the necessity of uniting the country ; of extinguishing the feuds, which had so long distracted the country, and divided its most accomplished citizens. He was desirous of giving scope to the talents of every enlightened American for the benefit of the whole, by whatever political denomination he had been previously known. For this, he has been severely censured ; but the common sense of the people is every day applauding and hailing with pleas-

sure the concentration of mind, from which the public must derive the greatest advantage. Instead of the bickerings of party, there has succeeded an emulation for internal improvement, for manufactures, for commercial enterprise, for defences by sea and land, and for the promotion of the arts and sciences. The foreign relations of the country being, in general, amicably arranged, and those of a domestic nature in a prosperous state, he projected a tour through several of the United States, principally for the purpose of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the feelings, situation, and interests of a great people, over whose destinies he was called to preside, and perhaps partly with a view, by his own example and influence, to do away whatever might remain of either sectional or party prejudice, amongst so extended a nation. Accordingly, on the first day of June, 1817, accompanied by General Swift, and his private secretary, he set out for the northern and eastern states, and arrived at Baltimore the same day. He proceeded from that city to Philadelphia; thence through New-Jersey to New-York; through each of the New-England States; from thence through the northern frontier of the State of New-York and Lake Erie, to Detroit. From this place he set out on his return, through Ohio, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and reached Washington City about the middle of September. Thus having performed a journey of three thousand miles through this most interesting and important portion of our country, in the short space of three months and an half.

In this tour he visited many of the principal cities and towns in the several states through which he passed, especially those in New-England. It is impossible, in this limited sketch, to describe or to do justice to the ceremonies and addresses with which he was received, in his progress through the country. Suffice it to say, that he was every where received with enthusiastic gladness, with ringing of bells and the roar of artillery, and with all the pomp and parade of military and civil processions; party spirit was hushed, and the whole community, of either sex or age, seemed to be only anxious of an opportunity to display their sincere respect for his private virtues, and their grateful admiration for his public services. It was one continued triumphant entry, such as was never witnessed in this country before, and never since, except in the recent instance of the "Nation's Guest," General La Fayette.



Upon his arrival at Washington, he immediately entered upon the arduous duties of his office. After the close of the session of congress which commenced not long after his return, he commenced his second tour through a part of the southern, and at a subsequent period, his third, through several of the western states, in both of which he was received with the same degree of civility, hospitality and enthusiasm, which he had experienced in the northern and eastern states. The effect of these visits of the president to the several states, was not only beneficial to the nation at large, but must have been peculiarly gratifying to him personally. It tended very much to harmonise the conflicting passions which had before raged among the people, and served to unite them in their exertions for the good of their common country, instead of wasting their strength in the baleful conflicts of party spirit, while at the same time he must have been sensibly affected, to be received wherever he travelled, with such unusual and undissembled tokens of gratitude and esteem. The high estimation in which he was held by his fellow citizens, in some degree perhaps, produced by his personal interview between the people of the different sections of the country, may be conceived, from the circumstance, that in 1821 he was for the *second* time, called to the chair of chief magistrate of the republic; having received every vote (save one,) throughout the United States.

During the first term of Mr. Monroe's administration, it was his happy lot to witness the prosperity of his country beyond any former example. At peace with all the world, she was left to the undisturbed enjoyment of her natural pursuits of agriculture, commerce and manufactures. The same may be observed of the succeeding four years of his presidency. No unpleasant event occurred to interrupt the peace and happiness of the nation, except indeed the war with the Seminole Indians, which through the instrumentality of Gen. Jackson, was speedily brought to an honourable and decisive issue. During the whole of his administration, no internal commotions or foreign wars took place, to swell the historian's page. When he entered upon the duties of his office, he found the nation at peace; at the expiration of eight years, he left it in the same happy situation, enjoying all the blessings which a free people could desire; to use his own language, her commerce flourishing and increasing, her revenue exceeding the most favourable anticipations,

and her relations with foreign nations, placed on conditions most favourable and honourable to our country.

President Monroe retired from the chief magistracy on the fourth of March 1825, and is now like his illustrious predecessors, Adams, Jefferson and Madison, in the decline of life, enjoying as a private citizen, those inestimable rights and privileges, which were in a great measure, through his and their exertions, secured to their common country.

The mind of Mr. Monroe is plain, but strong. His imagination has no influence whatever over his understanding. He patiently listens to advice, but is solely directed by his own judgment. He has been described as a man of ardent feelings, but possessed to a remarkable degree, of the faculty of restraining them, even on occasions the most provoking. He is a determined friend with little of bitterness or animosity. "If we survey the whole of his administration, it will be difficult to fix upon a real blemish. He was not able to satisfy all the cravings of ambition ; he did not listen to the claims of mere party men ; and therefore he has been traduced. Futurity will make manifest what is here predicted, that the people will one day readily admit, that James Monroe, whatever trifling errors he may have committed, has been the benefactor of his country, and an able and upright statesman."

## JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, ESQ.

Sixth President of the United States.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, the son of John Adams, late President of the United States, was born at Braintree in the state of Massachusetts, July 11th, 1767. It may well be presumed, that under the parental care of such a father, no pains or expense were spared in the cultivation of his mind, in his early years. In 1778, being then only in the eleventh year of his age, he went with his father to France, who was at that time, a joint commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee, to that court. He was not long afterwards placed in a school at Paris, where he continued for some time. His father, however, being called to Holland, in pursuance of his official duties, took his son with him, and first obtained for him a situation in a public school at Amsterdam, and afterwards, at a suitable time, sent him to the celebrated University of Leyden. It may easily be imagined what rapid improvements he must have made of the advantages of education he enjoyed, from the circumstance that as early as 1781 he accompanied, as private secretary, the late Judge Dana to St. Petersburg, who had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia. Mr. Adams continued more than a year in this situation, when he left St. Petersburg, to rejoin his father in Holland. He remained in various parts of Europe until 1785. About this time, his father was appointed Minister to the Court of St. James, and he returned to this country. He was soon afterwards admitted to an advanced standing in Cambridge University, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1787. Having completed the usual period for the study of the law, he was admitted to the bar, in the courts of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and commenced the practice in Boston, where he remained about four years, highly distinguished both for classical and legal acquirements.

It was not, however, owing to these qualifications only, that at so early an age he attracted the attention and admiration of those who knew him. From the course of his education, both at home and abroad, and his various situations and employments in Europe, he had, although so young, acquired, from research and observation, most of the essential requi-



sites of a statesman. His society and information was eagerly sought after, both by the old and the young ; and at that period, he was considered and pronounced as the best educated man of his age in New-England.

Such qualifications for public life could not be overlooked by his country. In 1791, being then but twenty-four years of age, he was appointed Minister to the United Netherlands, by General Washington. After having performed the duties attached to this embassy, to the entire satisfaction of his government, he again returned to the United States. He was afterwards, while in Europe, again nominated by Gen. Washington as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Lisbon ; so highly was he held, in the estimation of that sage and illustrious patriot. Upon the accession of his father to the presidency, his destination was changed, and he was appointed Minister to the Court of Berlin. This appointment entitled him to the outfits of a minister plenipotentiary, which would amount to the sum of nine thousand dollars. But as he was already in Europe, he generously relinquished that amount, and received only a sum which, together with what he received as minister resident at the Netherlands, constituted the usual amount allowed to foreign ministers. This last appointment being made by his father, considerable jealousy was excited at the time, that parental partiality predominated over all other considerations. These feelings, however, were not long entertained ; the distinguished talents of Mr. Adams, connected with public services already performed, were considered, by a great majority of his fellow-citizens, as justly entitling him to this important trust. And that the appointment was made, solely with a view to the public good, may be justly inferred, from the recommendation of General Washington, contained in a letter to John Adams, then President of the United States, on this subject. It equally proves the delicacy of the father, and the merits of the son. The letter is as follows :

“ MONDAY, 20th February, 1797.

“ *Dear Sir* :—I thank you for giving me the perusal of the enclosed. The sentiments do honour to the head and heart of the writer, and if my wishes would be of any avail, they should go to you in a strong hope, that you will not withhold merited promotion from Mr. John Quincy Adams, because he is your son. For, without intending to compliment the father or mother, or to censure any others, I give it

as my decided opinion, that Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character that we have abroad, and that there remains no doubt in my mind, that he will prove himself the ablest of all our diplomatic corps. If he was not brought into that line, or into any other public walk, I could not, upon the principle which has regulated my conduct, disapprove the caution which is hinted at in your letter. But he is already entered. The public, more and more, as he is known, are appreciating his talents and worth ; and his country would sustain a loss, if these were to be checked, by over delicacy on your part.

“ With sincere esteem, &c. &c.

“ GEO. WASHINGTON.”

Mr. Adams remained in Berlin from 1797 until April 1801, during which time he concluded a treaty of commerce with Prussia, which has been continued inviolate to the present time. By this, and other important services, rendered the United States, he abundantly proved himself to be not unworthy of the high estimation in which he was held by the *Father of his Country*. He was then recalled, and returned to America in September, 1801, a few months preceding the commencement of Mr. Jefferson's administration. Soon after his return he was elected a member of the senate of his native state, and continued in that capacity for one year, when he was chosen a senator of the United States for six years, from the fourth of March, 1803. When elected, the spirit of party raged with considerable virulence throughout the country ; and Mr. Adams was supported by the federalists, who were strongly opposed to the general course of policy pursued by Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Adams, for several years, warmly supported the views and principles of his constituents. But in 1807, when the great national question, as to the expediency of laying an embargo on all vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States, came before congress, he advocated that measure, and thereby became obnoxious to the legislature of the State, which had conferred upon him the station he held in congress. He, therefore, in 1808, sent to the legislature his resignation, accompanied by a letter, of which the following is a copy :

*"To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

"GENTLEMEN :

"It has been my endeavour, as I have conceived it my duty, while holding a seat in the Senate of the Union, to support the administration of the general government, in all necessary measures within its competency, the object of which was to preserve from seizure and depredation the persons and property of our citizens, and to vindicate the rights essential to the independence of our country, against the unjust pretensions and aggressions of foreign powers.

"Certain resolutions, recently passed by you, have expressed your disapprobation of the measures to which, under the influence of these motives, I gave my assent. As far as the opinion of a majority in the legislature can operate, I cannot but consider the resolutions as enjoining upon the representatives of the state in congress, a sort of opposition to the national administration, in which I cannot, consistently with my principles, concur. To give you, however, an opportunity of placing in the Senate of the United States a member who may devise and enforce the means of relieving our fellow-citizens from their present sufferings, without sacrificing the peace of the nation, the personal liberties of our seamen, or the neutral rights of our commerce, I now restore to you the trust committed to my charge, and resign my seat as a senator of the United States, on the part of the Commonwealth.

"I am, with perfect respect, gentlemen, your very humble and obedient servant,

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"Boston, June 8, 1808."

This event, however unpleasant, at the time, it might have been to his feelings, did not interrupt the career of his public life, for which he was so pre-eminently qualified. The acquisition of a man, possessed of such superior endowments, to a party, was not to be neglected by government ; and in the year 1809 he was appointed, by Mr. Madison, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia. In the discharge of this important trust, he acquitted himself with his usual ability, and by his efforts contributed greatly to those amicable relations which have, and in all probability will long continue to exist, between that powerful nation and the United States.



He was afterwards appointed, in conjunction with Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, a Commissioner at Ghent, where a treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was concluded with the commissioners, on the part of the British government, in December, 1814. In this important negotiation, Mr. Adams, as may well be supposed, from his long diplomatic experience and acknowledged talents, acted a most conspicuous part. His services were recognised with gratitude by his country ; and on the election of Mr. Monroe to the presidency, he was selected, by that upright and experienced statesman, to fill the important office of Secretary of State. Soon after his return from Europe, in August, 1817, he entered upon the discharge of the duties of that highly responsible trust, in which he continued, during the whole of Mr. Monroe's administration ; and it is but justice to remark, that in the performance of his various and laborious duties, he was uniformly distinguished, not only for his patriotic feelings, but for the signal ability displayed in his official correspondence and communications.

Such are the outlines of the principal *political* events of the life of John Quincy Adams, anterior to the 4th of March, 1825, when, having been, by the solemn and deliberate act of the constitutional authorities of his country, declared to be elected President of the United States, he entered upon the duties of this last and highest office, in the power of a free and grateful people to bestow. Perhaps his virtues and talents are to be put to a still higher test, than they have ever been before ; yet it is confidently believed, that America, as well as Europe, will not fail to award to him the laurel which he may merit, and that they will not fail to assign to him the first rank among the most enlightened of statesmen and the firmest of patriots.

## HENRY CLAY.

THIS distinguished individual, who has, for the last fifteen years, attracted so much of the attention and admiration of the American people, was born in that district of the country now known by the name of Kentucky ; it not then being constituted a state. His parents were respectable, but not wealthy. He however received, through the aid of friends and relations, all the advantages of an early education, which the means of that part of the country, at the time, would admit.

Having determined upon the course of life most congenial to his genius and taste, he completed his term of instruction, and was admitted to the bar at the early age of twenty-one. He had scarcely commenced his professional career, before he was recognised as one of the most able and eloquent men in the western states. In the powers of reasoning, in eloquence of debate, united to the talent of deep and cutting sarcasm, in which, perhaps, he sometimes too freely indulged, he was without a competitor. Possessed of these great advantages, splendid talents of his own, and the highest confidence of the community, he continued in practice of the law for several years, with unexampled success.

But the time was now arriving when it was considered that such powers as were possessed by Mr. Clay, belonged not to a section, but ought to be exerted for the good of the nation at large. He was, in consequence, elected, almost unanimously, a member of congress by his fellow-citizens in 1809.

The high reputation, which he held in his native state, was not unknown at Washington, and the display of his talents, during the succeeding congress, afforded abundant proof that he richly deserved it. It can easily be perceived in what estimation he was held by the national council, from the circumstance, that although but comparatively a new member, he was, in 1811, elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, an office, especially during the session of congress, viewed either as it respects its labour, responsibility, or influence, is second to none, save that of the President. His address to the House, on the occasion, was such as might be expected from such a man—expressing, indeed, diffidence in his ability to discharge the duties devolved upon him, but

replete with the sentiments of an American patriot and statesman.

It was during this period of time, that war with Great Britain was contemplated by the administration, and many bills, preparatory to this event, were successively introduced into Congress, which were warmly discussed, by both parties, in the House. The encroachments of the two great belligerent powers in Europe, especially that of Great Britain, upon our indisputable rights, were not only persevered in, but increased to such an extent, that, in the view of government, no choice was left, but either to submit to the abject and humiliating condition of dependants upon the will of a foreign nation; or to rise in our strength, and maintain those rights and interests which had been acquired by the war of independence. The latter alternative was chosen; and accordingly, on the 18th day of June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. Mr. Clay, owing to his situation as Speaker of the House, was prevented from taking, in public, so active a part as some others, in the debates on this subject; yet it is well known that he was zealously engaged in favour of the measure, considering it as absolutely necessary, for our preservation, as an independent nation.

A special session of the new congress was held in May, 1813, when Mr. Clay was re-elected Speaker, by a large majority; Mr. Pitkin, of Connecticut, being the rival candidate, and supported by those who were opposed to the war. He continued in this office until January, 1814, when he was appointed a joint commissioner with Mr. Gallatin, Adams, Bayard and Russell, for the purpose of effecting a treaty of peace with Great Britain. The commissioners, American and British, held their sittings at Ghent, where the well known treaty of peace, between the two countries, was concluded in the month of December following. During the protracted negotiations which preceded this important event, without intending the least disparagement to the merit of others, it is but justice to remark, that next to Mr. Adams, now President of the United States, no one stood more conspicuous for industry, talents and patriotism, than Mr. Clay.

On his return to the United States, he was every where greeted with affection and respect, by his fellow-citizens, especially in his native state, where he was again chosen a member of the ensuing congress, by which he was once more elected Speaker. He continued in this situation, with the exception of one or two sessions of congress, which arose



from the necessity of his attending to his private affairs at home; until the 4th of March, 1825. During this long period of official duty, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay was justly entitled to the gratitude of his country for the distinguished ability and fidelity with which he performed his public duties, both in the character of a member of congress, individually, and in that of the presiding officer of that dignified body.

While the patriots of Colombia, Mexico, and the other provinces of Spain, were engaged in a doubtful and bloody struggle for liberty, he exerted all his powers of reason, eloquence and influence, to induce our government to stretch forth its helping hand to their assistance. As a friend of liberty to mankind, throughout the world, he also early engaged in the cause of the Greeks, then and now engaged with the infidel Turk, fighting for their redemption, from the most abject and cruel despotism. His speeches, on these important subjects, have shed a lustre upon the talents and patriotism of our country. They were read with admiration in various parts of the world, and the different congresses in South America voted him their thanks and gratitude, for the disinterested, generous, and manly exertions which he had made in behalf of their infant republics. Mr. Clay was also an ardent patron of domestic manufactures and internal improvements.

Although Mr. Clay had, for so many years, attracted the attention of the public, he was, in the year 1824, placed in a still more prominent point of view, than he had ever been before. The period had then arrived when a successor to the venerable James Monroe, as President of the United States, was to be selected from the many eminent statesmen of our country. From the high estimation, for talents and patriotism, in which Mr. Clay was held, it may well be supposed that he would be supported as a candidate for that exalted station, by a great proportion of his fellow-citizens. But other statesmen were also presented as candidates to the public view; and Mr. Clay found himself placed in competition with Mr. Adams, General Jackson, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Calhoun, all of them eminently distinguished for their abilities and services rendered to their country.

Mr. Kremer, a Member of Congress from Pennsylvania and enthusiastically attached to the interests of Gen. Jackson, caused a letter to be published in the City of Philadelphia, in which the rights of the people were stated to be in

the utmost danger, that another Burr intrigue had already commenced, and that Mr. Clay was about to sacrifice the interests of his country, for the accomplishment of selfish purposes. It can easily be imagined with what feelings of indignation he read this most unwarrantable attack upon his character—a character, which for great abilities and ardent patriotism, had never before been called in question, even by his most violent political adversaries.

“This conspiracy,” says an able writer in the *National Journal* some weeks after. “This conspiracy of which the contemptible Kremer was the instrument and scape-goat, but in which we are confident General Jackson had no participation, had a three-fold object in view—to intimidate Mr. Clay from supporting Mr. Adams in the contest for the Presidency—to prevent him from accepting the office of Secretary of State, in case of the election of that gentleman, that the Cabinet might be weakened for the want of his talents—and to destroy him in public estimation, that he might be no longer a barrier to the success of their candidate at a future election.”

On the 9th of February, 1825, after the usual formalities observed on so important an occasion, Mr. Adams was chosen on the first balloting, and accordingly declared President of the United States, for four years from the 4th day of March then next ensuing, he having the votes of thirteen States, Gen. Jackson of seven, and Mr. Crawford of four. The event was attributed to the influence of Mr. Clay over his colleagues from the western States, and the friends of Gen. Jackson in the bitterness of their disappointment, once more renewed their clamour of intrigue and treachery.

That Mr. Clay had a perfect right to the exercise of his own judgment in the choice of President, no one will deny. He had, as has already been mentioned, long before made up his opinion, after mature deliberation, that Mr. Adams was the most proper person of the three candidates to fill that important office. Though personally and politically friendly to Mr. Crawford, he was opposed to his election, on account of his ill health, which had so long continued, as to preclude the hope that it would never be fully restored.

His objections to Gen. Jackson were of a different kind; he did not consider him as possessed of those qualifications which were in his view requisite to the discharge of the duties of the Chief Magistrate of a free people. Mr. Clay

had some years before, in an eloquent speech on the Seminole war, uttered these sentiments. He had then contended that Gen. Jackson was unfit to be trusted with high power, on account of his strong propensity to abuse it ; in exemplification of which he specified in particular, what he alledged to be, the unwarrantable execution of certain Indian Chiefs, of Arbuthnot and Ambristor ; the latter of whom, in opposition to the sentence of a Court Martial appointed by the General himself ; which he pronounced a wanton and lawless usurpation of power, worse, as he declared, than the execution of the Duke D'Enghien by the Emperor Napoleon. Respecting the Indians, he complained of the mode of their capture ; not, as he declared, " in the course of fair, and open, and honourable war ;—no, but by means of deception ; by hoisting foreign colours on the staff, from which the stars and stripes alone should have floated."

In entering upon the discharge of the duties of his office, it became necessary for Mr. Adams to form a new administration, and he made choice of Mr. Clay to be Secretary of State. This event was, of course, eagerly laid hold of by his enemies, as being conclusive proof of his having sold his vote and influence for the sake of office. But all unprejudiced men then, and the whole nation now know, that his elevation was owing to far different causes. His merits alone raised him to this exalted station.

After having attended to, and arranged the business of his office, into which he had so lately been introduced, he left Washington, upon a visit to his native state. Contrary to the hopes and expectations of his enemies, he was every where received with all possible marks of respect. In his own state, where he was always exceedingly popular, he was received with an unusual degree of enthusiasm. In each of the several counties, comprising the district, which he had so often represented in congress, he was received with every token of undiminished confidence and admiration ; even those who had been the supporters of General Jackson, participated in the festivities which took place, in honour to him, in order publicly to manifest their conviction, that, whatever their political differences may have been, *his* conduct had been governed by the most pure and upright motives. Such was the reception of a man by those of his fellow-citizens, whose wishes, it was falsely said, he had slighted, and whose interests he had betrayed.



## WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

MR. CRAWFORD, late Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was born in the State of Virginia, about the year 1763. He early emigrated to the State of Georgia, where he engaged himself in the instruction of youth in the higher branches of education. He soon after was admitted to the bar, and continued in the practice of the law with eminent success for several years. By the suavity of his manners, his strict integrity and solid talents, he soon attracted the attention and confidence of the public. He was elected a member of the State Legislature of Georgia, to which he was for several years successively chosen ; in which capacity both in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate, he was justly distinguished as one of the most upright and intelligent statesmen in her public councils.

Such was the confidence, reposed in his talents and integrity, that in 1800 he was selected, by the unanimous vote of the legislature, to revise and digest the code of laws of the state. This arduous duty, in conjunction with those associated, was performed to the high satisfaction of the public, and the system, recommended by him, has, with very little variation, continued in force to the present day.

The confidence, which his commanding talents and high reputation had induced his fellow-citizens to repose in him, continued to increase ; and he was, in the earlier part of President Jefferson's administration, chosen Senator in the Congress of the United States. He was, in that enlightened and venerable body, soon recognised as an able and patriotic supporter of the rights and liberties of his country. Amidst the difficulties and embarrassments under which the country was obliged to struggle, at that time, owing to the unprecedented encroachments made by the belligerent powers of Europe upon our national rights, Mr. Crawford was particularly distinguished for the decided and independent course which he pursued. In order to avoid war, as the worst of all national calamities, he was in favour of effecting, by negotiation, if possible, the security of those rights which had been acquired at the expense of so much blood and treasure. He therefore fully accorded with the administration in every attempt to produce an amicable and honourable adjustment of the difficulties subsisting between the United States and

the nations of France and England. Believing that restrictive measures, to a certain extent, would tend to accomplish this great object, he was in favour of their adoption. But with the same independence by which he had been uniformly distinguished, he opposed the resolution laying an embargo, though strongly recommended by the Executive, considering it not as protecting, but as laying the axe to the root of the commerce of our country. This act was however passed, as had already various others, prohibiting commercial intercourse between this country and Great Britain.

Notwithstanding this difference of opinion with the administration, on this important, and on some other measures, which were successively recommended and adopted by congress, his talents and services were too highly appreciated to pass unrewarded. After having been chosen President of the Senate, in the absence of the Vice President of the United States, a token of respect never conferred, unless upon one distinguished alike for ability and devotion to the best interests of the people, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France, where he remained several years, engaged in the service of his country during the period of her sufferings, in consequence of the desolating wars then carried on between the principal powers of Europe. Upon his return to the United States, he was appointed, by President Madison, Secretary at war, the duties of which office he discharged with uncommon ability.

In 1816, he was appointed to the high and responsible office of Secretary of the Treasury; in which department, he continued not only during the last year of Mr. Madison's, but during the whole eight years of Mr. Monroe's administration. The circumstance of his so long remaining in this most honourable, as well as important office, is of itself evidence of his integrity, talents and patriotism.

Towards the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, the attention of the American people was naturally attracted to the interesting subject of selecting a suitable character as successor to that virtuous and venerable statesman. Mr. Crawford had, even so far back as the year 1816, been strongly recommended, by a very considerable proportion of public men, as a proper candidate for that exalted station. But he yielded his pretensions rather than to divide the political party to which he was attached, and Mr. Monroe, of course, was elected, with but very little opposition;

In 1824 he was again nominated, by a large and respectable proportion of members of congress, as having, by his abilities and services rendered his country higher claims than any other individual to the office of chief magistrate. Unfortunately, however, for Mr. Crawford and his friends, he was not far from this time attacked with violent sickness, under which he laboured during the whole period of the electioneering campaign for the choice of President of the United States. So long and unmitigated did his disease continue, that the public became apprehensive that even if his life should be spared, his health and strength would never be sufficiently restored to enable him to discharge the arduous duties of that office. It was undoubtedly, in a great measure owing to this circumstance, that he did not receive so great a number of the votes of his fellow-citizens as was anticipated. There was, however, no choice made by the people, and Mr. Crawford was among the three highest candidates, from one of which, by the constitution, a selection was to be made by the House of Representatives. The result of the vote of the House was in favour of John Q. Adams, now President of the United States. Mr. Crawford was solicited to continue in the same office which he had so long and so honourably filled ; but the condition of his health, and his desire to withdraw from public life induced him to decline ; and he now lives retired, in the bosom of his family, every where respected and esteemed, as a benefactor of his country.



## JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

FEW men in any age or country, have made a more rapid advancement in the estimation and honours of the public, than the subject of this brief sketch. Mr. Calhoun was born in the state of South-Carolina, in the year 1781. He there received all the advantages of early instruction, and being particularly noticed for the superiority of his intellect, he was sent to Yale College, in order to complete his education, where he graduated, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1804. While in this justly celebrated College, he was remarked for the extraordinary industry and talents which he exhibited. After having finished his course of academical studies, he commenced the study of the law, at Litchfield, Connecticut, under the tuition of the learned and venerable Tapping Reeve, then judge of the supreme court of that state. Having passed the necessary period, he was admitted to the bar in his native state, where he stood pre-eminent in the discharge of his professional duties.

The high reputation for virtue and talents, which he acquired among his fellow-citizens, soon caused him to be elected a member of congress. While in that capacity, especially during the latter part of Mr. Madison's administration, he so distinguished himself for knowledge, integrity and talents, that he became the principal leader in the debates and deliberations of that enlightened body. It was during this early period of his public life, that the United States were so much involved in embarrassment and perplexity, in consequence of the despotic powers, exercised by the nations at war in Europe. Various measures were recommended and adopted by congress, to protect the growing interests of the country, but such was the unrelenting spirit of the hostile nations of France and Great Britain, that the sovereignty of the country was more and more invaded ; our seamen were impressed on board of British ships of war, our navigation, even on the Atlantic coast, though a neutral nation, was harassed and interrupted, and the commerce of the United States with Europe and Asia, was almost annihilated, by the depredations perpetrated upon it, by these formidable powers. In order to relieve our suffering citizens from their distress, and to secure the personal liberties of our seamen, without sacrificing the peace of the nation ; it was deemed most expedient by gov-

ernment, to recommend a system of restrictive measures, in our intercourse with foreign nations, in preference to an open declaration of war, in defence of the indisputable rights and privileges, which had been obtained by the struggle of a seven years war for independence. Pursuant to this policy of government, the well known non-intercourse and non-importation acts were passed ; and finally, as a last resort, it was enacted that an embargo be laid on all ships and vessels, in the ports and places, within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States, cleared or not cleared, bound to any port or foreign place ; and that no clearance be furnished to any ship or vessel, bound to such foreign port or place, except vessels under the immediate direction of the President of the United States. These important acts, however, did not produce the desired effect ; on the contrary, Great Britain, though contending with almost the whole world in arms against her, persisted with an unaccountable obstinacy in her encroachments upon our neutral rights. Every attempt to secure the tranquillity of the country for the future, or to obtain indemnity for outrages already committed, were alike unavailing. Triumphant in her boasted supremacy on the ocean, she seemed to set at defiance every power which complained of insult or injury.

At length the United States became aroused to a sense of their real situation. Dependence upon Great Britain, or an appeal to arms, appeared to be the only alternative. The latter was, of course, preferred by a nation of freemen ; accordingly, in June 1812, Mr. Calhoun, then chairman of the committee of foreign relations, introduced into congress, which was passed by a large majority, a resolution, that *War* be, and the same is hereby declared to exist, between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their territories ; and that the President of the United States, be authorised to use the whole of the land and naval forces of the United States, to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.

This important event, as may well be imagined, produced great sensation throughout the country, which was then ex-

tremely agitated by the conflicts between the two great federal and republican parties. The war, however, notwithstanding the unfavorable aspect at its commencement, was terminated successfully. National honour was acquired, and the rights and privileges for which we contended, were acknowledged and conceded by Great Britain, in a treaty of peace, concluded between the two countries at Ghent, in the month of December, 1814.

Upon the accession of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, in the formation of his cabinet, he selected Mr. Calhoun to preside over the important department of war ; a trust at that time, particularly responsible, in consequence of the change of the situation of the country, from that of hostility, to a state of peace and tranquillity. The ability and success with which he performed the arduous and delicate duties of his office, it is unnecessary here to relate. The careful and judicious reduction of the army, together with its present just and admirable organization, bear ample testimony to the wise and patriotic views of the secretary. Mr. Calhoun continued in the office of secretary of war during the whole of Mr. Monroe's administration. In 1824, when the people of the United States were about to select from among her able patriots and statesmen, a new president and vice-president, Mr. Calhoun was at first, warmly supported by a portion of his fellow citizens, for the highest office in the power of a free people to bestow. Other distinguished individuals were also presented to the public view, who, although not superior to him in point of talents, were, perhaps, from longer experience in public life, considered as more justly entitled to that high office. Under this impresssion, his friends were induced to withdraw his name from the list of candidates. His admiring fellow citizens, however, duly appreciating the ability and fidelity with which he had served them, made choice of him to fill the second highest office in their gift—that of Vice-President of the United States, which he now fills with dignity, and in the full confidence of the people, that he will long continue to be a blessing to his country.



## DE WITT CLINTON.

DE WITT CLINTON, the present governor of the State of New-York, is the son of the late Major-General James Clinton, who so highly distinguished himself, both in the French war and in that of our national independence. He was born in the county of Ulster, in the State of New-York, in 1764, where he received an excellent education. He was early brought into public life, being selected by his uncle, George Clinton, who was for many years governor of that state, and afterwards, vice-president of the United States, as his private secretary. During several years of the political excitement which existed not only between the various parties in his native state, but throughout the whole United States, he took a most conspicuous part; and although young, was recognised as one of the ablest scholars and statesmen, of which the country could boast.

Possessed of splendid talents, and upheld by powerful family connections, he soon occupied an important station in the councils and government of the state. As Mayor of the City of New-York, and as Senator in the State Legislature, he was alike distinguished for the firmness, ability and patriotism with which he discharged these important trusts. He was afterwards elected a Senator in the Congress of the United States, and remained in that important situation, during several years of the most critical and interesting period of our national history. It is supposed that it was in a great measure owing to his influence and exertions, that war with Spain was at that time avoided. That nation, more powerful then, than she is at present, possessing that immense territory extending west of the Mississippi, endeavored by arbitrary measures, not only to interrupt, but wholly to obstruct the navigation of the United States on that majestic river, which was the only outlet for the products of the western states to the Atlantic. The feelings of that part of the country were never more highly excited, than they were, upon this outrageous attempt on the part of Spain. A declaration of war was insisted upon by those, whose interests were affected; but a majority in the national councils, were opposed to so serious a measure; and were in favour of obtaining the desired object, by friendly negotiation, rather than to have recourse to arms.

It was during the discussion of this subject in the Senate, that Mr. Ross, a distinguished statesman from Pennsylvania, whose constituents, west of the Alleghany Mountains, were almost entirely dependent upon an uninterrupted navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi, declared, that *he* would be the first to take up arms and lead his fellow-citizens to the conquest of New-Orleans; to which Mr. Clinton immediately replied, in an under tone of voice, that if he did, *he* would be the first to hand a halter to the hangman, for his execution.

A favourable adjustment of all difficulties on this highly important subject, soon after took place. Spain transferred the country to France, of whom by purchase, the United States obtained possession of those vast and extensive territories of the west. In 1812, Mr. Clinton was supported by a large proportion of his fellow-citizens, for the office of President of the United States; they considering him, as the most suitable person to guide and direct the national councils, at that eventful period. He received the almost unanimous vote of his native state, as well as a majority of the New-England states. Mr. Madison was however again elected. The friends of Gov. Clinton were earnestly solicited to withdraw their support of him, as a candidate, by the assurance that at the expiration of Mr. Madison's administration, he would receive the majority of votes of the people of the United States, for that office. They however, in their reply, considered Mr. Clinton not at liberty, consistent with a due regard to the rights and interests of the American people to withdraw himself as a candidate for the office of president, at the then ensuing election. They represented the nomination of Mr. Madison by a caucus, at that time, as a criminal intrigue, which staked the honour and fortune of the United States, against an office, which brought on war without preparation; and as then conducted, left no hopes to avenge the violated rights, or to retrieve the tarnished glory of the country.

Mr. Clinton was subsequently chosen Governor of the State of New-York, in which office he continued until the year 1824, when he declined being considered as a candidate for re-election. Throughout his whole public life, he was distinguished for decision of character, for constancy and firmness of mind, which were almost unparalleled. Notwithstanding his engagements in public life as a statesman, Mr. Clinton never lost sight of his literary and philosophical pur-

suits. He had early imbibed a taste for classical and scientific acquirements, in the attainment of which, he has ever held a pre-eminent rank. As president of various societies, instituted for the promotion of learning, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, he has perhaps been more particularly distinguished than any other individual in the U. States. The various communications and addresses made by him to these enlightened associations, have shed a lustre upon the literature of our country, and have been received both in this country and in Europe, as an acquisition to the general fund of information, so essential to the peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

But by far the most important act of the public life of this distinguished individual, was the projection and final completion of the great canal between Lake Erie and the Hudson, by which the waters of the American Mediterranean are united with those of the Atlantic Ocean. Although, perhaps, Mr. Clinton was not the first to conceive this great undertaking, it is now universally acknowledged, that it was owing to his unwearied exertions and commanding influence, both as an enlightened individual, and a public benefactor, that this vast object was ultimately accomplished. It was at first violently opposed, by the personal and political opponents of Mr. Clinton, as a wild and visionary scheme of an aspiring politician ; and it required the patience of years, and the irresistible reasonings of a statesman and patriot, before the public could be induced to support their chief magistrate in the execution of the project. Time, however, unveiled their eyes, and the necessary measures to commence the undertaking were adopted by the legislature.

Mr. Clinton, as Governor of the State of New-York, is enjoying the respect and admiration of his countrymen. Accustomed to the honours of the public, he appears desirous of obtaining those reserved for him in future, only through public services. That these will be performed, in whatever situation of public life he may be placed, his long-tried integrity and talents leave no room for doubt.



## ANDREW JACKSON.

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON was born in the State of South Carolina, in the year 1762. His father, soon after his emigration from Europe, fell a victim to an epidemic, which then prevailed in Charleston. It was the peculiar good fortune of the son to be left under the care and instruction of an excellent mother, who spared no pains or expense in his early education. He was originally destined for the ministry, but the war of the American revolution having been commenced, he early joined himself to the standard of his injured country, and during a considerable period of that trying crisis, he distinguished himself for his gallant and patriotic conduct.

After the conclusion of the war, he commenced the study of the law, under a distinguished jurist in the state of North Carolina, and was, at the expiration of the limited period, admitted to practice in the courts of that state. His active and enterprising spirit, however, was not content with the prospect which was there presented to his view. In 1788, after the death of his kind and affectionate mother, he removed into that part of the South-West Territory, now called Tennessee, and established himself in the business of his profession at Nashville, the now capital of that growing and respectable state. His talents were duly appreciated, and he was appointed a member of the convention to form a constitution, as the supreme law of the state. As he had become familiar with the views and interests of that section of the country, he particularly distinguished himself in procuring that form of government to his fellow-citizens which secured their civil rights, and the unlimited enjoyment of their religious principles.

The high estimation, in which he was held by the people of Tennessee, could not be more fully manifested than by their choice of him as their first representative to Congress, upon their admission into the union of the states. In the succeeding year he was unanimously elected a senator in that enlightened and dignified body of patriots and statesmen. After having remained in this capacity for several years, he resigned his seat, and was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the state. In these various offices Mr. Jackson was recognised as an able and ardent supporter of the rights and privileges of the people, as well as the honour and dignity of

the nation. In 1779 he was called from the performance of his civil duties as a magistrate and judge, to the important station of a Major-General of the militia of the state. As she was then in her infancy, he was, by this appointment, constituted the actual commander of the whole military force, and it was through his means, principally, that an efficient organization of those brave troops was produced.

In 1812, being still Major-General of the Tennessee militia, he was, by the voice of his country, called to defend her rights in the field, as he had done for so many years in her public councils. General Jackson's first campaign was against the Creek tribe of Indians, who had joined the British in war upon the United States. Every species of barbarity, peculiar to Indian warfare, were practiced upon the western frontiers. Conflagration and massacre were, in every direction witnessed, and the whole of that immense territory of the south and west became a scene of savage warfare, rarely, if ever, paralleled in the history of nations.

In order to suppress these unhallowed outrages, General Jackson, pursuant to an act of congress, called upon his fellow-citizens to volunteer in the service of their country, and save it from the depredations of an infuriated and implacable enemy. In a short time not less than three thousand men, many of whom were of the first families and fortunes in the state, flocked to his standard, and placed themselves under his command, as an affectionate guardian and accomplished leader. With these forces, although during an inclement season of the year, he penetrated the strong holds and fastnesses of the hostile Indians, over whom, after repeated battles and innumerable sufferings, he obtained the most decisive victory, and once more restored peace and tranquillity to the distressed inhabitants of that section of the country.

War still continuing between Great Britain and the United States, great apprehensions were entertained by government for the safety of our navigation on the Mississippi. England, in consequence of peace in Europe, had now become enabled to direct her whole maritime and military force against the United States. She had already blockaded, invaded and burnt, several of our towns and cities, and now threatened the capture of New-Orleans, the key of the trade and commerce of the western states. To prevent so great a calamity, and to repel an insulting and overbearing enemy, was the ardent desire of government, and General Jackson was selected as the most suitable commander to effect these great

objects. It is unnecessary here to relate, minutely, the particulars of the well known victory obtained by the American over the British army, on the 8th of January, 1815. It is sufficient to observe, that the British, flushed with conquest over their enemies in Europe, and commanded by the most experienced generals, were, in their attempt upon New-Orleans, not only repulsed, but driven back to their ships, after sustaining the loss of their principal officers, and a large proportion of the soldiers. It is estimated that not less than fourteen thousand men engaged, were led on to the attack, and defeated by General Jackson, with an army of less than six thousand troops, most of whom were raw militia and volunteers. Never was a victory more decisive, and its consequences, to the United States, were of incalculable importance. It not only saved that important section of the Union from plunder and desolation, but diffused, throughout the country, a spirit of confidence, which had become, in some degree shaken, by the events of the preceding campaign. For this great achievement, the United States may be said to be wholly indebted to the energy, skill and bravery displayed by General Jackson.

In 1823, General Jackson was, by the legislature of Tennessee, again elected a Senator in the Congress of the United States. In 1824, he was recommended as a suitable candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Other distinguished individuals were also supported for that exalted station, and no choice was made by the people in their electoral colleges, although General Jackson received a greater number of votes than either of the other candidates. By the constitution, the choice of President, under these circumstances, devolved upon the House of Representatives, which honourable body, by a majority of two states, declared John Quincy Adams to be duly elected. Gen. Jackson, notwithstanding, enjoys the fullest confidence of his fellow-citizens, and the services which he has rendered his country will be handed down with admiration to the latest posterity.



## PART II.

THE LIVES, CHARACTERS, AND ANECDOTES

OF THE

MILITARY OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

WHO WERE MOST DISTINGUISHED IN ACHIEVING

OUR INDEPENDENCE.

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**ETHAN ALLEN,**

Brigadier General in the American Army.

GENERAL ALLEN was born in Salisbury, Conn. from whence, while he was yet young, his parents emigrated to Vermont. By this circumstance he was deprived of the advantages of an early education. But, although he never felt its genial influence, nature had endowed him with strong powers of mind; and when called to take the field, he showed himself an able leader, and intrepid soldier.

At the commencement of the disturbances in Vermont, about the year 1770, he took a most active part in favor of the Green Mountain Boys, as the settlers were then called, in opposition to the government of New-York. Bold, enterprising, and ambitious, he undertook to direct the proceedings of the inhabitants, and wrote several pamphlets to display the supposed injustice, and oppressive designs of the New-York proceedings. The uncultivated roughness of his own temper and manners seems to have assisted him in giving a just description of the views and proceedings of speculating land-jobbers. His writings produced effects so hostile to the views of the state of New-York, that an act of outlawry was passed against him, and five hundred guineas were offered for his apprehension. But his party was too numerous and faithful to permit him to be disturbed by any apprehensions for his safety. In all the struggles of that day

he was successful, and proved a valuable friend to those whose cause he had espoused.

The news of the battle of Lexington determined Allen to engage on the side of his country, and inspired him with the desire of demonstrating his attachment to liberty by some bold exploit. While in this state of mind, a plan for taking Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, by surprise, which was formed by several gentlemen in Connecticut, was communicated to him, and he readily engaged in the project. Receiving directions from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and conduct the enterprise, he collected 230 of the hardy settlers, and proceeded to Castleton. Here he was unexpectedly joined by Col. Arnold, who had been commissioned by the Massachusetts committee to raise 400 men, and effect the same object, which was now about to be accomplished. They reached the lake, opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the 8th of May, 1775. With the utmost difficulty boats were procured, and eighty-three men were landed near the garrison. Arnold now wished to assume the command, to lead on the men, and swore that he would go in himself the first. Allen swore that he should not. The dispute beginning to run high, some of the gentlemen present interposed, and it was agreed that both should go in together, Allen on the right hand and Arnold on the left. The following is Allen's own account of the affair :—

“ The first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take a part with my country. And while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, directions were privately sent to me from the then colony, now state of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and if possible, with them to surprise and take the fortress of Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook; and after first guarding all the several passes that lead thither, to cut off all intelligence between the garrison and the country, made a forced march from Bennington, and arrived at the lake opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the ninth of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I procured boats to cross the lake. However, I landed eighty-three men near the garrison, and sent the boats back for the rear guard, commanded by Col. Seth Warner; but the day began to dawn, and I found myself necessari-

tated to attack the fort, before the rear could cross the lake ; and as it was viewed hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following :—" Friends and fellow soldiers—You have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary powers. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the general assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket gate ; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes ; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelock."

" The men being at this time drawn up in three ranks, each poised his firelock. I ordered them to face to the right ; and at the head of the centre file marched them immediately to the wicket gate aforesaid, where I found a sentry posted, who instantly snapped his fusee at me. I ran immediately towards him, and he retreated through the covered way into the parade within the garrison, gave a halloo, and ran under a bomb proof. My party who followed me into the fort, I formed on the parade in such a manner, as to face the barracks which faced each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, we gave three huzzas, which greatly surprised them. One of the sentries made a pass at one of my officers with a charged bayonet, and slightly wounded him. My first thought was to kill him with my sword, but in an instant I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head ; upon which he dropped his gun and asked quarters, which I readily granted him ; and demanded the place where the commanding officer kept. He showed me a pair of stairs in the front of the garrison, which led up to a second story in said barracks, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, Captain Delaplace to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison : At which time the captain came immediately to the door, with his breeches in his hand, when I ordered him to deliver to me the fort instantly ; he asked me by what authority I demanded it. I answered him, " In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." The authority of Congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again, but



I interrupted him, and with my drawn sword near his head again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison ; with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had given up the garrison. In the mean time some of my officers had given orders, and in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beat down, and about one third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of said commander, a Lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file ; about one hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the grey of the morning of the 10th of May, 1775. The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre ; and Ticconderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America. Happy it was for me, at that time, that the future pages of the book of fate, which afterwards unfolded a miserable scene of two years and eight months imprisonment, were hid from my view."

This brilliant exploit secured to Allen a high reputation for intrepid valor throughout the country. In the fall of 1775, he was sent twice into Canada to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them, if possible, to the American cause. During one of these excursions he made a rash and romantic attempt upon Montreal. He had been sent by General Montgomery with a guard of eighty men, on a tour into the villages in the neighborhood. On his return he was met by a Major Brown, who had been on the same business. It was agreed between them to make a descent upon the island of Montreal. Allen was to cross the river, and land with his party a little north of the city ; while Brown was to pass over a little to the south, with near 200 men. Allen crossed the river in the night, as had been proposed, but by some means Brown and his party failed. Instead of returning, Allen, with great rashness, concluded to maintain his ground. General Carlton soon received intelligence of Allen's situation, and the smallness of his numbers, and marched out against him with about 40 regulars and a considerable number of English, Canadians and Indians, amounting, in the whole, to some hundreds. Allen attempted to defend himself, but it was to no purpose. Be-

ing deserted by several of his men, and having fifteen killed, he, with thirty-eight of his men, were taken prisoners.

He was now kept for some time in irons, and was treated with the most rigorous and unsparing cruelty. From his narrative it appears that the irons placed on him were uncommonly heavy, and so fastened, that he could not lie down, otherwise than on his back. A chest was his seat by day and his bed by night. Soon after his capture, still loaded with irons, he was sent to England, being assured that the halter would be the reward of his rebellion when he arrived there. Finding that threats and menaces had no effect upon him, high command and a large tract of the conquered country was afterwards offered him, on condition he would join the British. To the last he replied, "that he viewed their offer of conquered United States land to be similar to that which the devil offered to Jesus Christ ; to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him, when, at the same time, the poor devil had not one foot of land upon earth."

After his arrival, about the middle of December, he was lodged, for a short time, in Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth. On the 8th of January, 1776, he was put on board a frigate, and by a circuitous route again carried to Halifax. Here he remained closely confined in the jail from June to October, when he was removed to New-York. During the passage to this place, Captain Burke, a daring prisoner, proposed to kill the British captain and seize the frigate ; but Allen refused to engage in the plot, and was probably the means of saving the life of Captain Smith, who had treated him with kindness. He was kept at New-York about a year and a half, sometimes imprisoned, and sometimes permitted to be on parole. While here he had an opportunity to observe the inhuman manner in which the American prisoners were treated. In one of the churches in which they were crowded, he saw seven lying dead at one time, and others biting pieces of chips from hunger. He calculated, that of the prisoners taken on Long-Island and at Fort Washington, near 2000 perished by hunger and cold, or in consequence of diseases occasioned by the impurity of their prisons.

Col. Allen was exchanged for Col. Campbell, May 6th, 1778, and after having repaired to head quarters, and offered his services to General Washington, in case his health should be restored, he returned to Vermont. His arrival, on the evening of the last day of May, gave his friends great joy,

and it was announced by the discharge of cannon. As an expression of confidence in his patriotism and military talents, he was very soon appointed to the command of the state militia. His intrepidity, however, was never again brought to the test, though his patriotism was tried by an unsuccessful attempt of the British to bribe him to attempt an union of Vermont with Canada. He died suddenly on his estate, February 13, 1789.

Gen. Allen was brave, humane and generous; yet his conduct does not seem to have been much influenced by considerations respecting that holy and merciful Being, whose character and whose commands are disclosed to us in the scriptures. His notions with regard to religion were loose and absurd. He believed with Pythagoras, the heathen philosopher, that man, after death, would transmigrate into beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, &c. and, often informed his friends that he expected to live again in the form of a large white horse.

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### **JAMES CLINTON,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL CLINTON was the fourth son of Col. Charles Clinton, and was born in Ulster county, N. Y. Aug. 19th, 1736. In common with his brothers, he received an excellent education.

In the critical and eventful affairs of nations, when their rights and their interests are invaded, Providence, in the plenitude of its beneficence, has generally provided men qualified to raise the standard of resistance, and has infused a redeeming spirit into the community, which enabled it to rise superior to the calamities that menaced its liberty and its prosperity. History does not record a more brilliant illustration of this truth than the American revolution. In defiance of the most appalling considerations, constellations of the most illustrious men, pierced the dark and gloomy clouds which enveloped this oppressed people, and shone forth in the councils and the armies of the nation. Their wisdom drew forth the resources, and their energy vindicated the rights of America. They took their lives in their hands, and liberty or death was inscribed on their hearts.—



Amidst this gallant band, Gen. Clinton stood deservedly conspicuous. To an iron constitution and an invincible courage, he added great coolness in action and perseverance in effort. The predominant inclination of his mind was to a military life, and by a close attention to the studies connected with it, he prepared himself to perform those duties which afterwards devolved upon him, and thereby established his character as an intrepid and skilful officer.

In the war of 1756, usually denominated the French war, Clinton first encountered the fatigues and dangers of a military life. He was a captain under Colonel Bradstreet, at the capture of Fort Frontenac, and rendered essential service in that expedition by the capture of a sloop of war on Lake Ontario.

“ His company was placed in row-galleys, and, favoured by a calm, compelled the French vessel to strike after an obstinate resistance. His designation as captain commandant of the four companies, raised for the protection of the western frontiers of the counties of Orange and Ulster, was a post of great responsibility and hazard, and demonstrated the confidence of the government. The safety of a line of settlements, extending at least fifty miles, was intrusted to his vigilance and intrepidity. The ascendancy of the French, over the ruthless savages, was always predominant, and the inhabitant of the frontiers was compelled to hold the plough with one hand for his sustenance, and to grasp his gun with the other for his defence ; and he was constantly in danger of being awakened, in the hour of darkness, by the war-whoop of the savages, to witness the conflagration of his dwelling and the murder of his family.

After the termination of the French war, Mr. Clinton married Mary De Witt, and retired from the camp to enjoy the repose of domestic life.

When the American Revolution was on the eve of its commencement, he was appointed, on the 30th June, 1775, by the continental congress, colonel of the 3d regiment of New-York forces. On the 25th of October following, he was appointed by the provincial congress of New York, colonel of the regiment of foot in Ulster county ; on the 8th of March, 1776, by the continental congress, colonel of the second battalion of New-York troops ; and on the ninth of August, 1776, a Brigadier General in the army of the United States ; in which station he continued during the greater part of the war, having the

command of the New York line, or the troops of that state, and at its close he was constituted a Major-General.

In 1775, his regiment composed part of the army under General Montgomery, which invaded Canada; and he participated in all the fatigues, dangers and privations, of that celebrated, but unfortunate expedition.

In October, 1777, he commanded at Fort Clinton, which, together with its neighbour, Fort Montgomery, constituted the defence of the Hudson River, against the ascent of an enemy. His brother, the governor, commanded in chief at both forts. Sir Henry Clinton, with a view to create a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne, moved up the Hudson with an army of 4000 men, and attacked those works, which were very imperfectly fortified, and only defended by 500 men, composed principally of militia. After a most gallant resistance, the forts were carried by storm. General Clinton was the last man who left the works, and not until he was severely wounded by the thrust of a bayonet; pursued and fired at by the enemy, and his attending servant killed. He bled profusely, and when he dismounted from his war horse, in order to effect his escape from the enemy, who were close on him, it occurred to him that he must either perish on the mountains, or be captured, unless he could supply himself with another horse; an animal which sometimes roamed at large in that wild region. In this emergency he took the bridle from his horse, and slid down a precipice of one hundred feet to the ravine of the creek which separated the forts, and feeling cautiously his way along its precipitous banks, he reached the mountain at a distance from the enemy, after having fallen into the stream, the cold water of which arrested a copious effusion of blood. The return of light furnished him with the sight of a horse, which conveyed him to his house, about sixteen miles from the fort, where he arrived about noon, covered with blood, and labouring under a severe fever. In his helpless condition the British passed up the Hudson, within a few miles of his house, and destroyed the town of Kingston.

The cruel ravages and horrible irruptions of the Iroquois, or six nations of Indians, on our frontier settlements, rendered it necessary to inflict a terrible chastisement, which would prevent a repetition of their atrocities. An expedition was accordingly planned, and the principal command was committed to General Sullivan, who was to proceed up

the Susquehanna, with the main body of the army, while General Clinton was to join him by the way of the Mohawk.

The Iroquois inhabited, or occasionally occupied, that immense and fertile region which composes the western parts of New-York and Pennsylvania, and besides their own ravages, from the vicinity of their settlements to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. When General Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by General Clinton with upwards of sixteen-hundred men. The latter had gone up the Mokawk in batteaux, from Schenectady, and after ascending that river about fifty-four miles, he conveyed his batteaux from Canajoharie to the head of Otsego Lake, one of the sources of the Susquehanna. Finding the stream of water, in that river, too low to float his boats, he erected a dam across the mouth of the lake which soon rose to the altitude of the dam. Having got his batteaux ready, he opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high, that he was enabled to embark all his troops : to float them down to Tioga, and to join General Sullivan in good season. The Indians collected their strength at Newtown ; took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment, and on the 29th August, 1779, an attack was made on them ; their works were forced, and their consternation was so great, that they abandoned all further resistance ; for, as the Americans advanced into their settlements, they retreated before them without throwing any obstructions in their way. The army passed between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, by Geneva and Canandagua, and as far west as the Genessee River, destroying large settlements and villages, and fields of corn ; orchards of fruit trees, and gardens abounding with esculent vegetables. The progress of the Indians in agriculture, struck the Americans with astonishment. Many of their ears of corn measured 22 inches in length. They had horses, cows, and hogs, in abundance. They manufactured salt and sugar, and raised the best of apples and peaches, and their dwellings were large and commodious. The desolation of their settlements, the destruction of their provisions, and the conflagration of their houses, drove them to the British fortress of Niagara for subsistence, where, living on salt provisions, to which they were unaccustomed, they died in great numbers, and the effect of this expedition, was to diminish their population ; to damp their ardour ; to check



their arrogance ; to restrain their cruelty, and to inflict an irrecoverable blow on their resources of extensive aggression.

For a considerable portion of the war, General Clinton was stationed at Albany, where he commanded, in the northern department of the union, a place of high responsibility, and requiring uncommon vigilance and continual exertion. An incident occurred, when on this command, which strongly illustrates his character. A regiment which had been ordered to march, mutinied under arms, and peremptorily refused obedience. The general, on being apprised of this, immediately repaired with his pistols to the ground : he went up to the head of the regiment and ordered it to march : a silence ensued, and the order was not complied with. He then presented a pistol to the breast of a sergeant, who was the ringleader, and commanded him to proceed on pain of death ; and so on in succession along the line, and his command was, in every instance, obeyed, and the regiment restored to entire and complete subordination and submission.

General Clinton was at the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis, where he distinguished himself by his usual intrepidity.

His last appearance in arms, was on the evacuation of the city of New York, by the British. He then bid the commander in chief a final and affectionate adieu, and retired to his ample estates, where he enjoyed that repose which was required by a long period of fatigue and privation.

He was, however, frequently called from his retirement by the unsolicited voice of his fellow-citizens, to perform civic duties. He was appointed a commissioner to adjust the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York, which important measure was amicably and successfully accomplished. He was also selected by the legislature for an interesting mission to settle controversies about lands in the west, which also terminated favourably. He represented his native county in the assembly and in the convention that adopted the present constitution of the United States, and he was elected, without opposition, a senator from the Middle District ; all which trusts he executed with perfect integrity, with solid intelligence, and with the full approbation of his constituents.

The temper of General Clinton was mild and affectionate, but when raised by unprovoked or unmerited injury, he ex-

hibited extraordinary and appalling energy. In battle he was as cool and as collected as if sitting by his fireside. Nature intended him for a gallant and efficient soldier, when she endowed him with the faculty of entire self-possession in the midst of the greatest dangers.

He died on the 22d of December, 1812, and was interred in the family burial place in Orange county, and his monumental stone bears the following inscription :

“ Underneath are interred the remains of James Clinton, Esquire.

“ He was born the 9th of August, 1736 ; and died the 22d of December, 1812.

“ His life was principally devoted to the military service of his country, and he had filled with fidelity and honour, several distinguished civil offices.

“ He was an officer in the revolutionary war and the war preceding ; and, at the close of the former, was a major-general in the army of the United States. He was a good man and a sincere patriot, performing, in the most exemplary manner, all the duties of life : and he died, as he lived, without fear and without reproach.”—[*Biographical Dictionary.*]

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### GEORGE CLINTON,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

AMONG the many distinguished patriots of the Revolution, who have become tenants of the tomb, the services of none will be more readily acknowledged, than those of the late venerable George Clinton. He is descended from a respectable and worthy family, and was born on the 26th July, 1739, in the County of Ulster, in the Colony of New-York. His father, Colonel Charles Clinton, was an emigrant from Ireland.

In early youth he was put to the study of law, but long before he became a man, he rallied under the standard of his country, and assisted Amherst in the reduction of Montreal. In this campaign he nobly distinguished himself in a conflict on the northern waters, when, with four gun boats, after a severe engagement, he captured a French brig of eighteen guns.

This war being ended, he returned again to his favorite

pursuit, the science of the law, and placed himself under the tuition of Chief Justice Smith, where he became a student with Gouverneur Morris, between whom and himself, a difference of political opinion, in after-life wrought a separation.

He had scarcely commenced as a practitioner, when, in 1765, the storm appeared to gather round his native land, and the tyrannic disposition of the mother country was manifested. Foreseeing the evil at hand, with a mind glowing with patriotism, correct and quick in its perceptions ; and like time, steady and fixed to the achievement of its objects, he abandoned the advantages of the profession to which he had been educated, and became a member of the colonial legislature ; where he ever displayed a love of liberty, an inflexible attachment to the rights of his country, and that undaunted firmness and integrity, without which this nation never would have been free ; and which has ever formed the most brilliant, though by no means the most useful trait of his character. He was chief of the Whig party.

In this situation he remained, contending against the doctrine of British supremacy ; and with great strength of argument, and force of popularity, supporting the rights of America, till the crisis arrived when, in 1775, he was returned a member of that patriotic congress, who laid the foundation of our independence. While in this venerable body, it may be said of him with truth, that " he strengthened the feeble knees, and the hands that hang down." On the 4th of July, 1776, he was present at the glorious declaration of independence, and assented with his usual energy and decision, to that measure, but having been appointed a brigadier-general in the militia, and also in the continental army, the exigencies of his country at that trying hour, rendered it necessary for him to take the field in person, and he therefore retired from congress immediately after his vote was given, and before the instrument was transcribed for the signature of the members ; for which reason his name does not appear among the signers.

A constitution having been adopted for the state of N. Y. in April 1777, he was chosen at the first election under it, both governor and lieutenant governor, and was continued in the former office for eighteen years. In this year he was also appointed by Congress to command the posts of the Highlands, a most important and arduous duty. The



design of the enemy was to separate New-England from the rest of the nation, and by preventing succour from the east, to lay waste the middle and southern country. Had this plan been carried into effect, American liberty would probably have expired in its cradle. It was then that his vast and comprehensive genius viewed in its true light the magnitude of the evil contemplated; and he roused to a degree of energy unknown and unexpected. It was then that Burgoyne was, with the best appointed army ever seen in America, attempting to force his way to Albany, and Howe attempting to effect a junction with him at that important place.

The crisis was all important, and Clinton did not hesitate—he determined at all hazards to save his country. With this view, when Howe attempted to ascend the river, Clinton from every height and angle assailed him. His gallant defence of Fort Montgomery, with a handful of men, against a powerful force commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, was equally honorable to his intrepidity and his skill. The following are the particulars of his gallant conduct at the storming of forts Montgomery and Clinton, in October, 1777.

“When the British reinforcements, under General Robertson, amounting to nearly 2000 men, arrived from Europe, Sir Henry Clinton used the greatest exertion, and availed himself of every favorable circumstance, to put these troops into immediate operation. Many were sent to suitable vessels, and united in the expedition, which consisted of about 4000 men, against the forts in the Highlands. Having made the necessary arrangements, he moved up the North River, and landed on the 4th of October at Tarry-town, purposely to impress General Putnam, under whose command a thousand continental troops had been left, with a belief, that his post at Peek’s-kill was the object of attack. At eight o’clock at night, the general communicated the intelligence to Governor Clinton, of the arrival of the British, and at the same time expressed his opinion respecting their destination. The designs of Sir Henry were immediately perceived by the governor, who prorogued the assembly on the following day, and arrived that night at Fort Montgomery. The British troops, in the mean time, were secretly conveyed across the river, and assaults upon our forts were meditated to be made on the 6th, which were accordingly put in execution, by attacking the American advanced party at Doodletown, about two miles and a half from Fort Montgomery. The Americans received the fire of the

British, and retreated to Fort Clinton. The enemy then advanced to the west side of the mountain, in order to attack our troops in the rear. Governor Clinton immediately ordered out a detachment of one hundred men towards Doodletown, and another of sixty, with a brass field piece, to an eligible spot on another road. They were both soon attacked by the whole force of the enemy, and compelled to fall back. It has been remarked, that the talents, as well as the temper of a commander, are put to as severe a test in conducting a retreat, as in achieving a victory. The truth of this Governor Clinton experienced, when, with great bravery, and the most perfect order, he retired till he reached the fort. He lost no time in placing his men in the best manner that circumstances would permit. His post, however, as well as Fort Clinton, in a few minutes, were invaded on every side. In the midst of this disheartening and appalling disaster, he was summoned, when the sun was only an hour high, to surrender in five minutes; but his gallant spirit sternly refused to obey the call. In a short time after, the British made a general and most desperate attack on both posts, which was received by the Americans with undismayed courage and resistance. Officers and men, militia and continentals, all behaved alike brave. An incessant fire was kept up till dusk, when our troops were overpowered by numbers, who forced the lines and redoubts at both posts. Many of the Americans fought their way out, others accidentally mixed with the enemy, and thus made their escape effectually; for, besides being favored by the night, they knew the various avenues in the mountains. The governor, as well as his brother, General James Clinton, who was wounded, were not taken."\*

Howe, driven to madness by the manly resistance of his foes, inconsiderately landed and marched into the country, and immortalized his name by burning Kingston and other villages. But the great object of the expedition, the forming a junction with Burgoyne, was happily defeated, by the capture of that general, and America was free.

From this moment for eighteen years in succession, he remained the governor of New-York, re-elected to that important station by a generous and wise people, who knew how to appreciate his wisdom and virtue, and their own blessings. During this period, he was president of the convention of

that state, which ratified the national constitution; when, as in all other situations, he undeviatingly manifested an ardent attachment to civil liberty.

After the life of labor and usefulness, here faintly portrayed; worn with the fatigues of duty, and with a disease which then afflicted him, but which had been removed for the last eight years of his life; having led his native state to eminent, if not unrivalled importance and prosperity, he retired from public life, with a mind resolved not to mingle again with governmental concerns, and to taste those sweets which result from reflecting on a life well spent.

In 1805 he was chosen Vice President of the United States, by the same number of votes that elevated Mr. Jefferson to the presidency; in which station he discharged his duties with unremitting attention; presiding with great dignity in the Senate, and evincing, by his votes and his opinions, his decided hostility to constructive authority, and to innovations on the established principles of republican government.

He died at Washington, when attending to his duties as Vice President, and was interred in that city, where a monument was erected by the filial piety of his children, with this inscription, written by his nephew:—

“To the memory of George Clinton. He was born in the state of New-York, on the 26th July, 1739, and died in the city of Washington, on the 20th April, 1812, in the 73d year of his age.

“He was a soldier and statesman of the revolution. Eminent in council, and distinguished in war, he filled with unexampled usefulness, purity and ability, among many other offices, those of Governor of his native state, and of Vice-President of the U. States. While he lived, his virtue, wisdom and valor were the pride, the ornament, and security of his country, and when he died, he left an illustrious example of a well spent life, worthy of all imitation.”



**HORATIO GATES,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL GATES was a native of England, and was born in the year 1728. He was educated to the military profession, and entered the British army at an early age, in the capacity of lieutenant, where he laid the foundation of his future military excellence. Without purchase he obtained the rank of Major. He was aid to Gen. Monckton, at the capture of Martinico, and after the peace of Aix la Chapelle he was among the first troops which landed at Halifax under General Cornwallis. He was an officer in the army which accompanied the unfortunate Braddock, in the expedition against Fort du Quesne, in the year 1755, and was shot through the body.

When peace was concluded, he purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided until the commencement of the American war, in 1775. Having evinced his zeal and attachment to the violated rights of his adopted country, and sustaining a high military reputation, he was appointed by congress adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier, and he accompanied Gen. Washington to the American camp at Cambridge, in July, 1775, where he was employed for some time in a subordinate, but highly useful capacity.

In June, 1776, Gates was appointed to the command of the army of Canada, and on reaching Ticonderoga he still claimed the command of it, though it was no longer in Canada, and was in the department of Gen. Schuyler, a senior officer, who had rendered eminent services in that command. On presentation to Congress, it was declared not to be their intention to place Gates over Schuyler, and it was recommended to these officers to endeavour to co-operate harmoniously. General Schuyler was, however, shortly after, directed by congress to resume the command of the northern department, and General Gates withdrew himself from it; after which he repaired to headquarters, and joined the army under General Washington, in Jersey.

Owing to the prevalent dissatisfaction with the conduct of General Schuyler, in the evacuation of Ticonderoga,\*

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\* Vide Biog. of Gen. Schuyler.

Gates was again directed to take command. He arrived about the 21st of August, and continued the exertions to restore the affairs of the department, which had been so much depressed by the losses consequent on the evacuation of Ticonderoga. It was fortunate for General Gates, that the retreat from Ticonderoga had been conducted under other auspices than his, and that he took the command when the indefatigable, but unrequited labors of Schuyler, and the courage of Starke and his mountaineers, had already insured the ultimate defeat of Burgoyne.

Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and encamped on the height, about two miles from Gates' camp : which was three miles above Stillwater. This movement was the subject of much discussion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature, before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in New-York ; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne and especially his passage of the North River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and made the ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable. The Americans, elated with their their successes at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution.

The attack began a little before mid-day, September 19th, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders of both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half ; but after a short pause, it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven by each other. The British artillery fell into our possession, at every charge, but we could neither turn the pieces upon the enemy nor bring them off, so sudden were the alternate advantages. It was a gallant conflict, in which death, by familiarity, lost his terrors ; and such was the order of the Americans, that, as General Wilkinson states, the wounded men, after having their wounds dressed, in many instances returned again into the battle. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves on high trees, and

as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon.

The British lost upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost 319. Thirty-six out of forty-eight British artillerists were killed or wounded. The 62d British Regiment, which was 500 strong when it left Canada, was reduced to 60 men, and 4 or 5 officers. In this engagement General Gates, assisted by Generals Lincoln and Arnold, commanded the American army, and General Burgoyne was at the head of his army, and Generals Phillips, Reidesel and Frazer, with their respective commands, were actively engaged.

This battle was fought by the general concert and zealous co-operation of the corps engaged, and was sustained more by individual courage than military discipline. Gen. Arnold, who afterwards traitorously deserted his country, behaved with the most undaunted courage, leading on the troops and encouraging them by his personal efforts and daring exposure. The gallant Colonel Morgan, obtained immortal honor on this day. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, with the eighth Massachusetts regiment, remained in the field till about eleven o'clock, and was the last who retired. Major Hull commanded a detachment of three hundred men, who fought with such signal ardor, that more than half of them were killed. The whole number of Americans engaged in this action, was about two thousand five hundred; the remainder of the army, from its unfavorable situation, took little or no part in the action.

Each army claimed the victory, and each believed himself to have beaten, with only part of its force, nearly the whole of the enemy. The advantage however was decidedly in favor of the Americans. In every quarter they had been the assailants, and after an encounter of several hours, they had not lost a single inch of ground.

General Gates, whose numbers increased daily, remained on his old ground. His right, which extended to the river, had been rendered unassailable, and he used great industry to strengthen his left.

Both armies retained their position until the 7th of October; Burgoyne, in the hope of being relieved by Sir Hen-



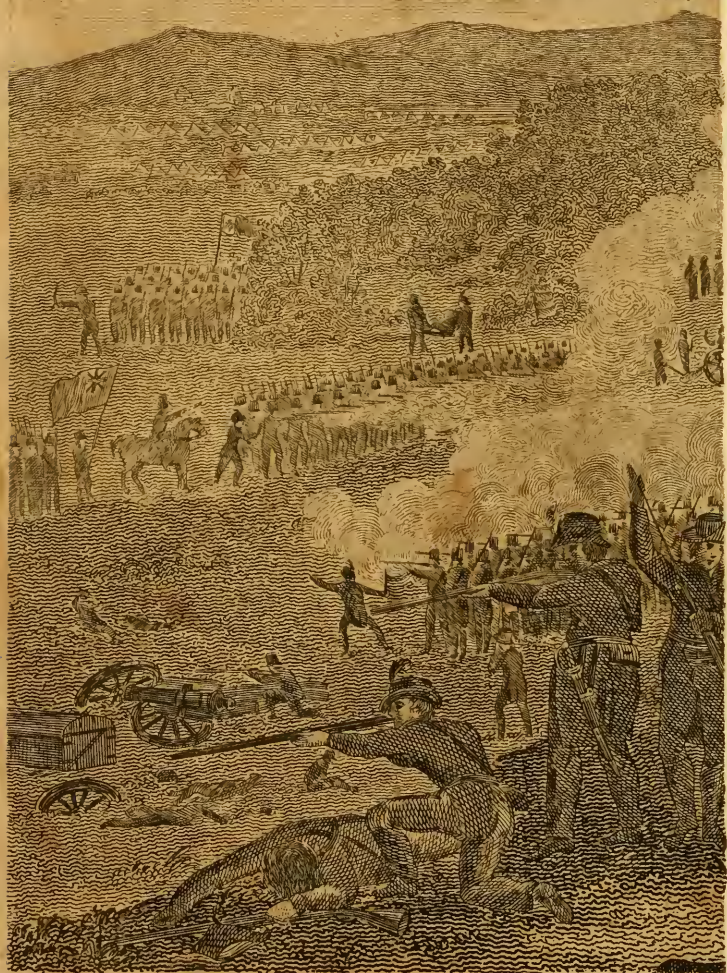
ry Clinton ; and Gates, in the confidence of growing stronger every day, and of rendering the destruction of his enemy more certain. But receiving no further intelligence from Sir Henry, the British general determined to make one more trial of strength with his adversary. The following account of the brilliant affair of the 7th of Oct. 1777, is given in Thacher's Military Journal.

“ I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers, a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th inst. The advanced parties of the two armies came into contact about three o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party in defiance awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan, at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action, and rushed courageously on the British grenadiers, commanded by Major Ackland ; and the furious attack was firmly resisted. In all parts of the field, the conflict became extremely arduous and obstinate ; an unconquerable spirit on each side disdaining to yield the palm of victory.—Death appeared to have lost his terrors ; breaches in the ranks were no sooner made than supplied by fresh combatants awaiting a similar fate. At length the Americans press forward with renewed strength and ardor, and compel the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne himself, to yield to their deadly fire, and they retreat in disorder. The German troops remain firmly posted at their lines ; these were now boldly assaulted by Brigadier-General Learned, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, at the head of their respective commands, with such intrepidity, that the works were carried, and their brave commander, Lieut. Colonel Breyman was slain. The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade, fell into our hands. Colonel Cilley, of General Poor's brigade, having acquitted himself honorably, was seen astride on a brass field piece, exulting in the capture. Major Hull, of the Massachusetts line, was among those who so bravely stormed the enemy's entrenchment, and acted a conspicuous part. General Arnold, in consequence of a serious misunderstanding with Gen. Gates, was not vested with any command, by which he was exceedingly chagrined and irritated. He entered the field, however, and his conduct was marked with intemperate rashness, flourishing his sword,

and animating the troops, he struck an officer on the head without cause, and gave him a considerable wound. He exposed himself to every danger, and with a small party of riflemen, rushed into the rear of the enemy, where he received a ball which fractured his leg, and his horse was killed under him. Nightfall put a stop to our brilliant career, though the victory was most decisive, and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery. Besides Lieut. Col. Breyman slain, Gen. Frazer, one of the most valuable officers in the British service, was mortally wounded, and survived but a few hours. Frazer was the soul of the British army, and was just changing the disposition of a part of the troops to repel a strong impression which the Americans had made, and were still making, on the British right, when Morgan called together two or three of his best marksmen, and pointing to Frazer, said; "Do you see that gallant officer? that is General Frazer,—I respect and honour him; but it is necessary he should die." This was enough. Frazer immediately received his mortal wound, and was carried off the field. Sir Francis Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, was brought into our camp with a mortal wound, and Major Ackland, who commanded the British grenadiers, was wounded through both legs, and is our prisoner. Several other officers, and about two hundred privates, are prisoners in our hands, with nine pieces of cannon and a considerable supply of ammunition, which was much wanted for our troops. The loss on our side is supposed not to exceed thirty killed, and one hundred wounded, in obtaining this signal victory."

The position of the British army, after the action of the 7th, was so dangerous, that an immediate and total change of position became necessary, and Burgoyne took immediate measures to regain his former camp at Saratoga. There he arrived, with little molestation from his adversary. His provisions being now reduced to the supply of a few days, the transport of artillery and baggage towards Canada, being rendered impracticable by the judicious measures of his adversary, the British general resolved upon a rapid retreat, merely with what the soldiers could carry. On examination, however, it was found that they were deprived even of this resource, as the passes through which their route lay, were so strongly guarded, that nothing but artillery could clear them. In this desperate situation a parley took place, and









on the 16th of October, the whole army surrendered to General Gates.

The prize obtained consisted of more than five thousand prisoners, forty-two pieces of brass ordnance, seven thousand muskets, clothing for seven thousand men, with a great quantity of tents, and other military stores.

Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there until the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected honour on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers, of both armies, met at Gen. Gates' quarters, and for a while seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies.

General Wilkinson gives the following account of the meeting between General Burgoyne and General Gates :—

“General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp, Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted. I then named the gentlemen, and General Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said, “The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner ;” to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, “I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your Excellency.”

The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army ; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this great event, was ordered to be struck, to be presented to him by the president, in the name of the United States.

It was not long after, that the wonderful discovery was supposed to be made, that the illustrious Washington was incompetent to the task of conducting the operations of the American army ; and that General Gates, if elevated to the chief command, would speedily meliorate the condition of our affairs. There were those who imputed to General Gates himself, a principal agency in the affair, which, however, he promptly disavowed. But certain it is, that a private correspondence was maintained between him and the intriguing General Conway, in which the measures pursued

by General Washington are criticised and reprobated, and in one of Conway's letters, he pointedly ascribes our want of success to a weak general and bad counsellors.—General Gates, on finding that General Washington had been apprised of the correspondence, addressed his Excellency, requesting that he would disclose the name of his informer, and in violation of the rules of decorum, he addressed the commander in chief on a subject of extreme delicacy in an open letter, transmitted to the president of congress. General Washington, however, did not hesitate to disclose the name and the circumstances which brought the affair to light. General Gates then, with an inexcusable disengenuousness, attempted to vindicate the conduct of Conway, and to deny that the letter contained the reprehensible expressions in question, but utterly refused to produce the original letter. This subject, however, was so ably and candidly discussed by General Washington, as to cover his adversary with shame and humiliation. It was thought inexcusable in Gates, that he neglected to communicate to the commander in chief an account of so important an event as the capture of the British army at Saratoga, but left his Excellency to obtain the information by common report.

Dr. Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, relates the following anecdote :—" Mr. T——, an ensign in our regiment, has, for some time, discovered symptoms of mental derangement. Yesterday he intruded himself at Gen. Gates' headquarters, and after some amusing conversation, he put himself in the attitude of devotion, and prayed that God would pardon Gen. Gates for endeavouring to supersede that god-like man, Washington. The general appeared to be much disturbed, and directed Mr. Pierce, his aid-de-camp, to take him away."

On the 13th of June, 1780, General Gates was appointed to the chief command of the southern army. Rich in fame from the fields of Saratoga, he hastened to execute the high and important trust ; and the arrival of an officer, so exalted in reputation, had an immediate and happy effect on the spirits of the soldiers and the hopes of the people. It was anticipated that he who had humbled Great-Britain on the heights of the Hudson, and liberated New-York from a formidable invasion, would prove no less successful in the south, and become the deliverer of Carolina and Georgia from lawless rapine and military rule. But anticipations were vain, and the best founded hopes were blighted ! In



the first and only encounter which he had with Lord Cornwallis, at Camden; August 15th, he suffered a total defeat, and was obliged to fly from the enemy for personal safety.

Proudly calculating on the weight of his name, and too confident of his own superiority, he slighted the counsel which he ought to have respected, and hurrying impetuously into the field of battle, his tide of popularity ebbed as fast at Camden, as it had flowed at Saratoga.\*

It would be great injustice, however, to attribute the misfortune altogether to the commander, under his peculiar circumstances. A large proportion of his force consisted of raw militia, who were panic-struck, and fled at the first fire; their rout was absolute and irretrievable. In vain did Gates attempt to rally them. That their speed might be the greater, they threw away their arms and accoutrements, and dashed into the woods and swamps for safety. A rout more perfectly wild and disorderly, or marked with greater consternation and dismay, was never witnessed. Honour, manhood, country, home, every recollection sacred to the feelings of the soldier, and the soul of the brave, was merged in an ignominious love of life.

But, from the moment General Gates assumed the command in the south, his former judgment and fortune seemed to forsake him. He was anxious to come to action immediately, and to terminate the war by a few bold and energetic measures; and two days after his arrival in camp, he began his march to meet the enemy, without properly estimating his force.

The active spirits of the place being roused and encouraged, by the presence of a considerable army, and daily flocking to the standard of their country, General Gates, by a delay of action, had much to gain, in point of numbers. To the prospects of the enemy, on the contrary, delay would have been ruinous. To them there was no alternative but immediate battle and victory, or immediate retreat. Such, however, was the nature of the country, and the distance and relative position of the two armies, that to *compel* the Americans to action was impossible. The imprudence of the American general, in hazarding an engagement, at this

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\* When the appointment of General Gates to the chief command of the southern army was announced, General Lee remarked, that "*his northern laurels would soon be exchanged for southern willows.*"

time, is further manifested by the fact, that in troops, on whose firmness he could safely rely, he was greatly inferior to his foe, they amounting to sixteen hundred veteran and highly disciplined regulars, and he having less than a thousand continentals.

Gen. Gates having retreated to Salisbury, and thence to Hillsborough, he there succeeded in collecting around him the fragments of an army. Being soon afterwards reinforced by several small bodies of regulars and militia, he again advanced towards the south, and took post in Charlotte. Here he continued in command until the 5th day of October, fifty days after his defeat at Camden, when Congress passed a resolution requiring the commander in chief to order a court of inquiry on his conduct, as commander of the southern army, and to appoint some other officer to that command. The inquiry resulted in his acquittal; and it was the general opinion that he was not treated by congress with that delicacy, or indeed gratitude, that was due to an officer of his acknowledged merit. He, however, received the order of his supersedure and suspension, and resigned the command to Gen. Greene with becoming dignity, as is manifested, much to his credit, in the following order:—

*“ Head-Quarters, Charlotte, 3d December, 1780.*

*Parole, Springfield—countersign, Greene.*

The honorable Major-General Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed, by his Excellency General Washington, with the approbation of the honorable congress, to the command of the southern army, all orders will, for the future, issue from him, and all reports are to be made to him.

General Gates returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the southern army for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance of all the hardships they have undergone, while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith, and that victory, and the glorious advantages of it, may be the future portion of the southern army.”

General Greene had already been, and continued to be, the firm advocate of the reputation of General Gates, particularly if he heard it assailed with asperity; and still believed and asserted, that if there was any mistake in the conduct of Gates, it was in hazarding an action at all against

such superior force ; and when informed of his appointment to supersede him, declared his confidence in his military talents, and his willingness to "serve under him."

General Gates was reinstated in his military command, in the main army, in 1782 ; but the great scenes of war were now passed, and he could only participate in the painful scene of a final separation.

In the midst of his misfortune, General Gates was called to mourn the afflictive dispensation of Providence, in the death of his only son. Major Garden, in his excellent publication, has recorded the following affecting anecdote, which he received from Dr. William Reed :—

"Having occasion to call on General Gates, relative to the business of the department under my immediate charge, I found him traversing the apartment which he occupied, under the influence of high excitement ; his agitation was excessive—every feature of his countenance, every gesture betrayed it. Official despatches informing him that he was superseded, and that the command of the southern army had been transferred to General Greene, had just been received and perused by him. His countenance, however, betrayed no expression of irritation or resentment ; it was sensibility alone that caused his emotion. An open letter, which he held in his hand, was often raised to his lips, and kissed with devotion, while the exclamation repeatedly escaped them—"Great man ! Noble, generous procedure !" When the tumult of his mind had subsided, and his thoughts found utterance, he, with strong expression of feeling, exclaimed, "I have received this day a communication from the commander in chief, which has conveyed more consolation to my bosom, more ineffable delight to my heart, than I had believed it possible for it ever to have felt again. With affectionate tenderness he sympathizes with me in my domestic misfortunes, and condoles with me on the loss I have sustained by the recent death of an only son ; and then with peculiar delicacy, lamenting my misfortune in battle, assures me, that his confidence in my zeal and capacity is so little impaired, that the command of the right wing of the army will be bestowed on me so soon as I can make it convenient to join him."

After the peace, he retired to his farm in Berkley county, Va. where he remained until the year 1790, when he went to reside in New-York, having first emancipated his slaves and made a pecuniary provision for such as were not able to



provide for themselves. Some of them would not leave him, but continued in his family.

On his arrival at New-York, the freedom of the city was presented to him. In 1800 he accepted a seat in the legislature, but he retained it no longer than he conceived his services might be useful to the cause of liberty, which he never abandoned.

His political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens, whose views differed widely from his own. He had a handsome person, and was gentlemanly in his manners, remarkably courteous to all, and gave indisputable marks of a sociable, amiable, and benevolent disposition. A few weeks before his death, he closed a letter to a friend in the following words:—"I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution. But I have lived long enough, since I live to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honour." He died without posterity, at his abode near New-York, on the 10th day of April, 1806, aged 78 years.

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### **NATHANIEL GREENE,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL GREENE, although descended from ancestors of elevated standing, was not indebted to the condition of his family, for any part of the real lustre and reputation he possessed. He was literally the founder of his own fortune, and the author of his own fame. He was the second son of Nathaniel Greene, a member of the society of Friends, an anchor-smith.

He was born in the year 1741, in the town of Warwick, and County of Kent, in the province of Rhode-Island. Being intended by his father, for the business which he himself pursued, young Greene received, at school, nothing but the elements of a common English education. But to him, an education so limited, was unsatisfactory. With such funds as he was able to raise, he purchased a small, but well selected library, and spent his evenings, and all the time he could redeem from his father's business, in regular study.

At a period of life, unusually early, Greene was elevated,

by a very flattering suffrage, to a seat in the legislature of his native colony. This was the commencement of a public career, which, heightening as it advanced, and flourishing in the midst of difficulties, closed with a lustre that was peculiarly dazzling.

Thus introduced into the councils of his country, at a time, when the rights of the subject, and the powers of the ruler, were beginning to be topics of liberal discussion, he felt it his duty to avow his sentiments on the momentous question. Nor did he pause or waver, as to the principles he should adopt, and the decision he should form. He was inflexibly opposed to tyranny and oppression in every shape, and manfully avowed it. But his character, although forming, was not completely developed until the commencement of the troubles which terminated in our independence. It was then that he aspired to a lead in the public councils; and, throwing from him, as unsuitable to the times, the peaceful habits in which he had been educated, sternly declared for a redress of grievances, or open resistance. This open departure from the sectarian principles in which he had been educated, was followed, of course, by his immediate dismissal from the society of Friends.

The sword was earliest unsheathed in the colony of Massachusetts; and on the plains of Lexington and Concord, the blood of British soldiers, and American subjects, mingled first in hostile strife. Nor was Rhode-Island, after that sanguinary affair, behind her sister colonies, in gallantry of spirit, and promptitude of preparation.

Greene commenced his military pupilage in the capacity of a *private soldier*, in October, 1774, in a military association, commanded by James M. Varnum, afterwards brigadier general. But Rhode-Island having in the month of May, 1775, raised three regiments of militia, she placed them under the command of Greene, who, without loss of time, conducted them to head-quarters, in the village of Cambridge.

On the 2d of July, 1775, General Washington, invested by congress with the command in chief of the armies of his country, arrived at Boston. Greene availed himself of an early opportunity amid the public demonstration of joy, to welcome the commander in chief, in a personal address, in which, with much warmth of feeling, and kindness of expression, he avowed his attachment to his person, and the high gratification he derived from the prospect of being as-

sociated with him in arms, and serving under him, in defence of the violated rights of his country.

This was a happy prelude to a friendship between these two great and illustrious officers, which death, alone, had the power to dissolve. It is a fact of notoriety, that when time and acquaintance had made him thoroughly acquainted with the character of General Greene, Washington entertained, and frequently expressed an anxious wish, that, in case of his death, he might be appointed his successor to the supreme command.

During the investment of Boston, by the American forces, a state of things, which lasted for months, no opportunity presented itself to Greene, to acquire distinction, by personal exploit. But his love of action, and spirit of adventure, were strongly manifested; for he was one of the few officers of rank, who concurred with General Washington, in the propriety of attempting to carry the town by assault.

On the evacuation of Boston by the British, the American troops were permitted to repose from their toils, and to exchange, for a time, the hardships and privations of a field encampment, for the enjoyment of plenty, in comfortable barracks. During this period of relaxation, Greene continued, with unabating industry, his military studies, and as far as opportunity served, his attention to the practical duties of the field. This course, steadily pursued, under the immediate supervision of Washington, could scarcely fail to procure rank, and lead to eminence. Accordingly, on the 26th of August, 1776, he was promoted, by congress, to the rank of major-general in the regular army.

A crisis, most glowing and portentous to the cause of freedom, had now arrived. In the retreat which now commenced, through New-Jersey, General Washington was accompanied by General Greene, and received from him all the aid, that, under circumstances so dark and unpromising, talents, devotion, and firmness could afford. Possessed alike of an ardent temperament, hearts that neither danger nor misfortune could appal, and an inspiring trust in the righteousness of their cause, it belonged to the character of these two great and illustrious commanders, never for a moment to despair of their country. Hope and confidence, even now, beamed from their countenances, and they encouraged their followers, and supported them under the pressure of defeat and misfortune.



Greene was one of the council of Washington, who resolved on the enterprise of the 26th of December, 1776, against the post of the enemy at Trenton. The issue is known, and is glorious in our history. About one thousand Hessians, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with their arms, field equipage and artillery, were the trophies of that glorious morning, which opened on the friends of American freedom, with the day-star of hope. He was again of the council of the commander in chief, in planning the daring attack of the 2d of January, 1777, on the British garrison at Princeton, as well as his associate in achieving its execution. In both these brilliant actions, his gallantry, prudence, and skill being alike conspicuous, he received the applauses of his commander. He continued the associate and most confidential counsellor of Washington, through the gloomy and ominous period that followed.

In the obstinate and bloody battle of Brandywine, General Greene, by his distinguished conduct added greatly to his former renown. In the course of it, a detachment of American troops, commanded by General Sullivan, being unexpectedly attacked by the enemy, retreated in disorder. General Greene, at the head of Weedon's Virginia brigade, flew to their support. On approaching, he found the defeat of General Sullivan a perfect rout. Not a moment was to be lost. Throwing himself into the rear of his flying countrymen, and retreating slowly, he kept up, especially from his cannon, so destructive a fire, as greatly to retard the advance of the enemy. Aiming at length at a narrow defile, secured on the right and left by thick woods, he halted, sent forward his cannon, that they might be out of danger, in case of his being compelled to a hasty retreat, and formed his troops, determined to dispute the pass with his small arms. This he effected with complete success, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the assailants; until after a conflict of more than an hour and a half, night came on, and brought it to a close. But for this quick-sighted interposition, Sullivan's detachment must have been nearly annihilated.

On this occasion, only, did the slightest misunderstanding, ever occur, between General Greene and the commander in chief. In his general orders after the battle, the latter neglected to bestow any special applause on Weedon's brigade. Against this, General Greene remonstrated in person.

General Washington replied, "You, Sir, are considered

my favorite officer. Weedon's brigade, like myself, are Virginians. Should I applaud them for their achievement under your command, I shall be charged with partiality ; jealousy will be excited, and the service injured."

"Sir," exclaimed Greene, with considerable emotion, "I trust your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am not selfish. In my own behalf, I have nothing to ask. Act towards *me* as you please ; I shall not complain. However richly I prize your Excellency's good opinion and applause, a consciousness that I have endeavored to do my duty, constitutes at present, my richest reward. But do not, Sir, let me entreat you, on account of the jealousy that may arise in little minds, withhold justice, from the brave fellows I had the honor to command."

Convinced that prudence forbade the special notice requested, the commander in chief persisted in his silence. Greene, on cool reflection, appreciated the motives of his general, and lost no time in apologizing for his intemperate manner, if not for his expressions.—Delighted with his frankness and magnanimity, Washington replied, with a smile,—“An officer, tried as you have been, who errs but once in two years, deserves to be forgiven.”—With that, he offered him his hand, and the matter terminated.

Following General Greene in his military career, he next presents himself on the plains of Germantown. In this daring assault, he commanded the left wing of the American army, and his utmost endeavors were used to retrieve the fortune of the day, in which his conduct met the approbation of the commander in chief. Lord Cornwallis, to whom he was often opposed, had the magnanimity to bestow upon him a lofty encomium. “Greene,” said he, “is as dangerous as Washington. He is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining any advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighbourhood.”

At this period, the quarter-master department, in the American army, was in a very defective and alarming condition, and required a speedy and radical reform ; and General Washington declared, that such reform could be effected only by the appointment of a quarter-master-general, of great resources, well versed in business, and possessing practical talents of the first order. When requested by Congress to look out for such an officer, he, at once, fixed his eye on General Greene.

Washington well knew that the soul of Greene was indissolubly wedded to the duties of the line. Notwithstanding this he expressed, in conversation with a member of Congress, his entire persuasion, that if General Greene could be convinced of his ability to render his country greater services in the quarter-master department, than in the field, he would at once accept the appointment. "There is not," said he, "an officer of the army, nor a man in America more sincerely attached to the interests of his country. Could he best promote their interests, in the character of a *corporal*, he would exchange, as I firmly believe, without a murmur, the epaulet for the knot. For, although he is not without ambition, that ambition has not for its object, the highest rank so much as the *greatest good*."

When the appointment was first offered General Greene, he declined it, but after a conference with the commander in chief, he consented to an acceptance, on condition, that he should forfeit nothing of his right to command, in time of action. On these terms he received the appointment, on the 22d of March, 1778, and entered immediately on the duties of the office.

In this station he fully answered the expectations formed of his abilities; and enabled the American army to move with additional celerity and vigor.

During his administration of the quarter-master department, he took, on two occasions, a high and distinguished part in the field; the first in the battle of Monmouth; the second, in a very brilliant expedition against the enemy in Rhode-Island, under the command of General Sullivan. At the battle of Monmouth, the commander in chief, disgusted with the behaviour of General Lee, deposed him on the field of battle, and appointed General Greene to command the right wing, where he greatly contributed to retrieve the errors of his predecessor, and to the subsequent events of the day.

His return to his native state was hailed by the inhabitants, with general and lively demonstrations of joy. Even the leading members of the Society of Friends, who had reluctantly excluded him from their communion, often visited him at his quarters, and expressed their sincere satisfaction at the elevation he had attained in the confidence of his country. One of these plain gentlemen being asked, in jest, by a young officer, how he, as an advocate of peace, could reconcile it to his conscience, to keep so much company



with General Greene, whose profession was war?—promptly replied, “ Friend, it is not a suit of uniform that can either make or spoil a man. True, I do not approve of this many-coloured apparel, (the officers’ dress,) but whatever may be the form or colour of his coat, Nathaniel Greene still retains the same sound head and virtuous heart that gained him the love and esteem of our Society.”

During the year 1779, General Greene was occupied exclusively in the extensive concerns of the quarter-master department.

About this time Gen. Greene was called to the performance of a duty, the most trying and painful he had ever encountered. We allude to the melancholy affair of Major Andre, adjutant general to the British army, who was captured in disguise within the American lines. Washington detailed a court for his trial, composed of fourteen general officers, La Fayette, and Steuben being two of the number, and appointed General Greene to preside.

When summoned to his trial, Andre frankly disclosed without interrogatory, what bore heaviest on his own life, but inviolably concealed whatever might endanger the safety of others. His confessions were conclusive, and no witness was examined against him. The court were unanimous, that he had been taken as a spy, and must suffer death. Of this sentence he did not complain, but wished that he might be permitted to close a life of honor by a professional death, and not be compelled like a common felon, to expire on a gibbet. To effect this, he made, in a letter to General Washington, one of the most powerful and pathetic appeals, that ever fell from the pen of a mortal.

Staggered in his resolution, the commander in chief referred the subject, accompanied by the letter, to his general officers, who, with one exception, became unanimous in their desire that Andre should be shot.

That exception was found in General Greene, the president of the court. “ Andre,” said he, “ is either a spy or an innocent man. If the latter, to execute him, in any way, will be murder; if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs, the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it, short of the execution of the prisoner, as a common spy; a character of which his own confession has clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your

feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one may be death to thousands. Besides, if you shoot the prisoner, instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicion, which you will be unable to allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general, that, in the case of Major Andre, there were exculpatory circumstances, entitling him to lenity, beyond what he received—perhaps, entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free.”

This reasoning being considered conclusive, the prisoner suffered as a common spy.

We have now advanced to that period of the revolutionary war, in which the situation of Greene is about to experience an entire change. No longer acting in the vicinity, or subject to the immediate orders of a superior, we are to behold him, in future, removed to a distance, and virtually invested with the supreme command of a large section of the United States.

Congress, dissatisfied with the loss of the southern army, resolved that the conduct of Gen. Gates be submitted to the examination of a court of inquiry, and the commander in chief directed to appoint an officer to succeed him. In compliance with the latter part of the resolution, General Washington, without hesitation, offered the appointment to Gen. Greene. In a letter to Congress, recommending the general to the support of that body, he made the most honorable mention of him, as “an officer in whose abilities, fortitude and integrity, from a long and intimate experience of them, he had the most entire confidence.” Writing to Mr. Mathews, a member from Charleston, he says, “You have your wish, in the officer appointed to the southern command. I think I am giving you a general; but what can a general do without arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions?”

General Greene arrived at Charlotte, the head-quarters of General Gates, Dec. 2d, 1780, and in entering on the duties of his command, he found himself in a situation that was fearfully embarrassing. His army, consisting mostly of militia, amounted to less than two thousand men, and he found on hand but three days’ provision, and a very defective supply of ammunition. In front was an enemy, proud in victory, and too strong to be encountered. With such means, and under such circumstances, to recover two states, alrea-

dy conquered, and protect a third, constituted a task that was almost hopeless.

It was not merely to meet an enemy in the field, to command skilfully, and fight bravely, either in proffered or accepted battle. These operations depend on mere professional qualifications, that can be readily acquired by moderate capacities. But to raise and provide for an army in a dispirited and devastated country, creating resources where they do not exist, to operate with an incompetent force on an extended and broken line of frontier; to hold in check, in many points, and to avoid coming into contact in any, with an enemy superior in numbers and discipline;—to conduct a scheme of warfare like this, and such, precisely, was that which tested the abilities of General Greene, requires a genius of the highest order, combined with indefatigable industry and skill.

Preparatory to the commencement of the campaign, Greene's first care was to prepare for his troops' subsistence and ammunition; and in effecting this, he derived great aid from his personal experience in the business of the commissary and quarter-master's departments. This qualification for such a diversity of duties, presented him to his troops in the two-fold relation of their supporter and commander. Much of the moral strength of an army consists in a confidence in its leader, an attachment to his person, and a spirit of subordination, founded on principle. To such an extent was this true, that even the common soldiery, sensible of the superintendence of a superior intellect, predicted confidently a change of fortune. Their defeat at Camden was soon forgotten by them, in their anticipations of future victory. They fancied themselves ready once more to take the field, and felt a solicitude to regain their lost reputation, and signalize their prowess in presence of their new and beloved commander.

But, notwithstanding the spirit and confidence of his troops, Greene found himself unable to meet the enemy in the field. With Washington in his eye, and his own genius to devise his measures, he resolved on cautious movements and protracted war. Yet, to sustain the spirit of the country, it was necessary that he should not altogether shun his enemy; but watching and confronting his scouts and foraging parties, fight, cripple, and beat him in detail; and in all his movements, it was necessary for him to maintain a com-



munication with Virginia, from which he was to receive supplies of provisions, munitions and men.

General Greene's first movement, from the village of Charlotte, was productive of the happiest effect. In the month of December he marched, with his main army, to the Cheraw Hills, about seventy miles to the right of Lord Cornwallis, despatching, at the same time, General Morgan, with four hundred continentals under Colonel Howard, Colonel Washington's corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to six hundred, to take a position on the British left, distant from them about fifty miles.

This judicious disposition, which formed a rallying point for the friends of independence, both in the east and west, and facilitated the procurement of provisions for the troops, excited his Lordship's apprehensions for the safety of Ninety-Six and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced by the movements of Morgan, and gave rise to a train of movements which terminated in the celebrated battle of the Cowpens.

Cornwallis, immediately on learning the movements of Greene, despatched Col. Tarlton with a strong detachment, amounting, in horse and foot, to near a thousand, for the protection of Ninety-Six, with orders to bring General Morgan, if possible, to battle. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first, to fall back rapidly. But this was not long continued. Glorifying in action, and relying with great confidence in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, Morgan halted at the Cowpens, and prepared to give his adversary battle. The opportunity was eagerly seized by Tarlton. An engagement was the immediate consequence, and a complete victory was obtained by the Americans\*. Upwards of five hundred of the British laid down their arms, and were made prisoners, and a very considerable number were killed. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces, and thirty-five baggage waggons fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

The victory of the Cowpens, although achieved under the immediate command of Morgan, was the first stroke of Gen. Greene's policy, in the south, and augured favourably of his future career. It led to one of the most arduous, ably-

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\* Vide Biog. of Gen. Morgan.

conducted, and memorable operations, that occurred in the course of the revolutionary war—the retreat of Greene, and the pursuit of Cornwallis, during the inclemencies of winter, a distance of 230 miles.

Galled in his pride, and crippled in his schemes, by the overthrow of Tarlton, Lord Cornwallis resolved, by a series of prompt and vigorous measures, to avenge the injury and retrieve the loss which the royal arms had sustained at the Cowpens. His meditated operations, for this purpose, were, to advance rapidly on Morgan, retake his prisoners, and destroy his force; to maintain an intermediate position, and prevent his union with General Greene; or, in case of the junction of the two armies, to cut off their retreat towards Virginia, and force them to action.

But General Greene, no less vigilant and provident than himself, informed, by express, of the defeat of Tarlton, instantly perceived the object of his Lordship, and ordering his troops to proceed, under Gen. Huger, to Salisbury, where he meditated a junction with Morgan's detachment, he himself, escorted by a few dragoons, set out for the headquarters of that officer, and joined him shortly after.

Cornwallis, having committed to the flames his heavy baggage, and reduced his army to the condition of light troops, dashed towards Morgan. And here commenced the retreat of Gen. Greene, in the course of which he displayed such resources, and gained, in the end, such lasting renown. Sensible of the immense prize for which he was contending, he tasked his genius to the uttermost. On the issue of the struggle was staked, not merely the lives of a few brave men; not alone the existence of the whole army, but the fate of the south and the integrity of the Union. But his genius was equal to the crisis. By the most masterly movements, Greene effected a junction of the two divisions of his little army.

To his great mortification, Lord Cornwallis now perceived, that in two of his objects, the destruction of Morgan's detachment, and the prevention of its union with the main division, he was completely frustrated by the activity of Greene. But to cut off the retreat of the Americans into Virginia, after their union, and to compel them to action, was still, perhaps, practicable, and to the achievement of this, he now directed his undivided energies.

The genius of Greene, however, did not desert him on this trying occasion. Self-collected, and adapting his con-

duct to the nature of the crisis, his firmness grew with the increase of danger ; and the measure of his greatness was the extent of the difficulties he was called to encounter. Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of his enemy, he brought his men in safety into Virginia ; and to crown the whole, no loss was sustained by him, either in men, munitions, artillery, or any thing that enters into the equipment of an army.

Frustrated thus, in all his purposes, Lord Cornwallis, although the pursuing party, must be acknowledged to have been fairly vanquished. Victory is the successful issue of a struggle for superiority. Military leaders contend for different objects ; to vanquish their enemies, in open conflict ; to attack and overthrow them, by stratagem and surprise ; to exhaust their resources, by delay of action ; or to elude them in retreat, until strengthened by reinforcements, they may be able to turn and meet them in the field. Of this last description, was the victory of Greene, in his memorable retreat.

“ In Virginia, General Greene received some reinforcements, and had the promise of more ; on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival, he hoped to be able to act on the offensive. He encamped in the vicinity of Lord Cornwallis’ army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, that, during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their superiority ; and even cut off all opportunity of their receiving succors from the royalists.

About the beginning of March, he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the British commander, without loss of time, “ being persuaded,” as he declared in his subsequent despatches, “ that, if he was successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy ; and, if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him.” On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford Court-House, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom near two-thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred ; all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service in their long expedition under Lord Corn-



wallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprised of General Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines: the militia of North Carolina were in front; the second line was composed of those of Virginia; and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and were posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford Court-House.

The engagement commenced at half an hour after one o'clock, by a brisk cannonade; after which the British advanced in three columns, and attacked the first line, composed of North Carolina militia. These, who probably had never been in action before, were panic-struck at the approach of the enemy; and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired; but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them: but the advantages of their position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground. This shameful conduct had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery; and were thrown into disorder; rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length, superiority of discipline carried the day from superiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and a half; and was terminated by General Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops."\*

This was a hard-fought action, and the exertions of the two rival generals, both in preparing for this action, and during the course of it, were never surpassed. Forgetful of every thing, but the fortune of the day, they, on several occasions, mingled in the danger, like common soldiers.

The loss sustained by the Americans, in this battle, amounted, in killed and wounded, to only about 400; while in its effect on the enemy it was murderous; nearly one

third of them, including many officers of distinction, were killed and wounded.

The result of this conflict, although technically a defeat, was virtually a victory on the part of General Greene. In its relation to his adversary, it placed him on higher ground than he had previously occupied ; enabling him, immediately afterwards, instead of retreating, to become the pursuing party. This is evidenced by his conduct soon after the action.

Not doubting that Lord Cornwallis would follow him, he retreated slowly, and in good order, from the field of battle, until attaining, at the distance of a few miles an advantageous position, he again drew up his forces, determined to renew the contest, on the arrival of his enemy. But his Lordship was in no condition to pursue. Having, by past experience, not to be forgotten, learnt that his adversary was an Ulyses in wisdom, he now perceived that he was an Ajax in strength. Alike expert in every mode of warfare, and not to be vanquished, either by stratagem or force, he found him too formidable to be again approached.

Influenced by these sentiments, Lord Cornwallis, instead of pursuing his foe, or even maintaining his ground, commenced his retreat, leaving behind him about seventy of his wounded, whom he recommended, in a letter written by himself, to the humanity and attention of the American chief.

Had General Greene been in a situation to pursue his Lordship, as soon as he commenced his retreat, the destruction of that officer and his army would have been inevitable. Some spot on the plains of Carolina would have witnessed the surrender that was reserved for Virginia ; and the hero of the south would have won the laurels which, shortly afterwards, decorated the brow of the hero of the nation. But Greene's military stores were so far expended that he could not pursue, until he received a supply ; and the delay, thus occasioned, gave time to the British commander to effect his escape.

Having received his supplies, Greene immediately pursued the enemy ; but the advanced position of Lord Cornwallis, and the impracticable condition of the roads, frustrated every exertion that General Greene could make to compel the enemy to a second engagement.—Convinced of this, he halted to indulge his troops in that refreshment and repose which they so much needed.

Were we to indicate the period in the life of General

Greene most strongly marked by the operations, and irradiated by the genius of a great commander, we would without hesitation, select that which extends from the commencement of his retreat before Cornwallis, to the termination of his pursuit of him at this time. Perhaps a brighter era does not adorn the military career of any leader. It was in the course of it that he turned the current of adverse fortune consequent on the defeat of Gates, which he afterwards directed with such certain aim and irresistible force, as to keep the enemy from his numerous strong holds in the southern department, and contributed so pre-eminently to the speedy and felicitous issue of the war.

Having abandoned the pursuit of the British army, the general again found himself encircled with difficulties. Of the southern department of the union, over which Greene's command extended, the enemy was in force in three large and important sections. Georgia and South Carolina were entirely in their possession; Lord Cornwallis had taken post in the maritime district of North Carolina, and part of Virginia was occupied by a powerful detachment of British troops, under the command of Gen. Philips. At a loss to determine in which of these points he should act in person, he consulted his officers, and found them greatly divided in opinion. He, however, resolved, in accordance to the views of Col. Lee, that, leaving his lordship, whose object evidently was the invasion of Virginia, to be met by the energies of that state, with such assistance as might arrive from the north, he should penetrate South Carolina, his army divided into two columns, attack and beat the enemy at their different posts, without permitting them to concentrate their forces, and thus recover that rich and important member of the union.

An officer who had distinguished himself in the late action, not satisfied with the proposed plan of operations, asked Gen. Greene by way of remonstrance,—“What will you do, Sir, in case Lord Cornwallis throws himself in your rear, and cuts off your communication with Virginia?”—“I will punish his temerity,” replied the general, with great pleasantness, “by ordering you to charge him as you did at the battle of Guilford. But never fear, Sir; his lordship has too much good sense ever again to risque his safety so far from the sea board. He has just escaped ruin, and he knows it, and I am greatly mistaken in his character



as an officer, if he has not the capacity to pront by experience."

On the seventh of April, Gen. Greene broke up his encampment, and with the main column of his army, moving to the south, took position on Hobkirk's Hill, in front of Camden, the head-quarters of Lord Rawdon, now the commander in chief of the British forces in the south.

"The strength of the British position, which was covered on the south and east side by a river and creek; and to the westward and northward, by six redoubts; rendered it impracticable to carry it by storm, with the small army Greene had, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, the militia having gone home. He, therefore, encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent supplies from being brought in, and to take advantages of such favorable circumstances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon's situation was extremely delicate. Col. Watson, whom he had some time before detached, for the protection of the eastern frontiers, and to whom he had, on intelligence of General Greene's intentions, sent orders to return to Camden, was so effectually watched by General Marion, that it was impossible for him to obey. His lordship's supplies were, moreover, very precarious; and should General Greene's reinforcements arrive, he might be so closely invested, as to be at length obliged to surrender. In this dilemma, the best expedient that suggested itself, was a bold attack; for which purpose, he armed every person with him capable of carrying a musket, not excepting his musicians and drummers. He sallied out on the 25th of April, and attacked General Greene in his camp. The defence was obstinate; and for some part of the engagement the advantage appeared to be in favor of America. Lieutenant Colonel Washington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not less than two hundred British prisoners. However, by the misconduct of one of the American regiments victory was snatched from General Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He lost in the action about two hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners. Rawdon lost about two hundred and fifty-eight.

There was a great similarity between the consequences of the affair at Guilford, and those of this action. In the former, Lord Cornwallis was successful; but was afterwards obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the scene of action, and for a time abandoned the grand project of pen-

trating to the northward. In the latter, Lord Rawdon had the honor of the field ; but was shortly after reduced to the necessity of abandoning his post, and leaving behind him a number of sick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of General Greene, and the several officers he employed, gave a new complexion to affairs in South-Carolina, where the British ascendancy declined more rapidly than it had been established. The numerous forts, garrisoned by the enemy, fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, Granby, and others, Fort Ninety-Six excepted, were surrendered ; and a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d May, General Greene sat down before Ninety-Six, with the main part of his little army. The siege was carried on for a considerable time with great spirit ; and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length, the works were so far reduced, that a surrender must have been made in a few days, when a reinforcement of three regiments, from Europe, arrived at Charleston, which enabled Lord Rawdon to proceed to relieve this important post. The superiority of the enemy's force reduced General Greene to the alternative of abandoning the siege altogether, or, previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by storm. The latter was more agreeable to his enterprising spirit ; and an attack was made, on the morning of the 19th of June. He was repulsed, with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. He raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Dr. Ramsay, speaking of the state of affairs about this period, says, " truly distressing was the situation of the American army ; when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to a hazardous assault, and afterwards to abandon a siege. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity ; and after subduing the greatest part of the force sent against them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation, there were not wanting persons who advised General Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, " I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose gen-

ius was most vigorous in those extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resources now left him, of avoiding an engagement, until the British force should be divided."\*

Greene, having, without loss, made good his passage over the rivers in front, Lord Rawdon, perceiving the futility of any further attempt to overtake him, abandoned the pursuit, and retreating to Ninety-Six, prepared for its evacuation. Thus did the policy of Greene, which is moral strength, compel the surrender of that fortress, although from a want of physical strength, he failed to carry it by the sword.

No sooner had Lord Rawdon commenced his retrograde movement towards Ninety-Six than General Greene changed his front, and moved in the same direction. On the breaking up of the garrison of Ninety-Six, and the return of Lord Rawdon towards Charleston, which immediately ensued, the British army moved in two columns, at a considerable distance from each other. It was then that General Greene became, in reality, the pursuing party, exceedingly anxious to bring the enemy to battle. But this he was unable to accomplish until September.

"September the 9th, General Greene having assembled about two thousand men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of Col. Stewart, were posted at Eutaw Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines: the first, composed of Carolina militia, was commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, and Colonel de Malmedy. The second, which consisted of continental troops, from North-Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was commanded by General Sumpter, Lieutenant-Col. Campbell, and Colonel Williams; Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, with the state troops, covered the left. A corps de reserve was formed of the cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, and the Delaware troops under Capt. Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with some advanced parties of the enemy, at about two or three miles a-head of the main body. These being closely pursued, were driven back, and the action soon became general. The militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely supported by the second line. In

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\* Am. Biog. Dictionary.



the hottest part of the engagement, General Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. "Nothing," says Dr. Ramsay, "could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musquetry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them." The British were broken, closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them taken prisoners.— They, however, made a fresh stand in a favorable position, in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavors to bring them from their station, being found impracticable, the Americans retired, leaving a very strong picquet on the field of battle. Their loss was about five hundred; that of the British upwards of eleven hundred.

General Greene was honoured by congress with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement, "for his wise, decisive, and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw Springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory."

In the evening of the succeeding day, Colonel Stewart abandoned his post, and retreated towards Charleston, leaving behind upwards of seventy of his wounded and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued a considerable distance, but in vain.

In Dr. Caldwell's memoirs of the life of General Greene, we have the following interesting story as connected with the severe conflict at Eutaw Springs:

"Two young officers, bearing the same rank, met in personal combat. The American, perceiving that the Briton had a decided superiority, in the use of the sabre, and being himself of great activity and personal strength, almost gigantic, closed with his adversary and made him his prisoner.

"Gentlemanly, generous and high minded, this event, added to a personal resemblance which they were observed to bear to each other, produced between these two youthful warriors, an intimacy, which increased in a short time to a mutual attachment.

“Not long after the action, the American officer returning home, on furlough, to settle some private business, obtained permission for his friend to accompany him.

“Travelling without attendants or guard, they were both armed and well mounted. Part of their route lay through a settlement highly disaffected to the American cause.

“When in the midst of this, having, in consequence of a shower of rain, thrown around them their cloaks, which concealed their uniforms, they were suddenly encountered by a detachment of tories.

“The young American, determined to die rather than become a prisoner, especially to men whom he held in abhorrence for disloyalty to their country, and the generous Briton resolved not to survive one by whom he had been distinguished and treated so kindly, they both together, with great spirit and self possession, charged the royalists, having first made signals in their rear, as if directing others to follow them; and thus, without injury on either side, had the address and good fortune to put the party to flight.

“Arriving in safety at their place of destination, what was their surprise and augmented satisfaction, on finding, from some questions proposed by the American officer's father, that they were first cousins!

“With increasing delight, the young Briton passed several weeks in the family of his kinsman, where the writer of this narrative saw him daily, and often listened, with the rapture of a child, to the checkered story of his military adventures.

“To heighten the occurrence, and render it more romantic, the American officer had a sister, beautiful and accomplished, whose heart soon felt for the gallant stranger, more than the affection due to a cousin. The attachment was mutual.

“But here the adventure assumes a tragical cast. The youthful foreigner, being exchanged, was summoned to return to his regiment. The message was fatal to his peace. But military honor demanded the sacrifice; and the lady, generous and high-minded as himself, would not be instrumental in dimming his laurels. The parting scene was a high-wrought picture of tenderness and sorrow. On taking leave, the parties mutually bound themselves, by a solemn promise, to remain single a certain number of years, in the hope that an arrangement contemplated might again bring them together. A few weeks afterwards, the lady expired

under an attack of small pox. The fate of the officer we never learnt."\*

Judge Johnson in his life of General Greene, says—"At the battle of the Eutaw Springs, Greene says 'that hundreds of my men, were naked as they were born.' Posterity will scarcely believe that the bare loins of many brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks, at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes, while a folded rag or a tuft of moss protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will enquire, by what magic was the army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight?"

General Greene in his letters to the secretary at war, says—"We have three hundred men without arms, and more than one thousand so naked that they can be put on duty only in cases of a desperate nature." Again he says—"Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the most painful anxieties. I have more embarrassments than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. *I have been seven months in the field without taking off my clothes.*"

The battle of the Eutaw Springs being terminated, General Greene ordered the light troops under Lee and Marion, to march circuitously, and gain a position in the British rear. But the British leader was so prompt in his measures, and so precipitate in his movements, that leaving his sick and wounded behind him, he made good his retreat. The only injury he received in his flight, was from Lee and Marion, who cut off part of his rear guard, galled him in his flanks, killed several, and made a number of prisoners.

Such was the issue of the battle of Eutaw. Like that of every other fought by General Greene, it manifested in him, judgment and sagacity of the highest order. Although he was repeatedly forced from the field, it may be truly said of that officer, that he never *lost* an action—the consequences, at least, being always in his favor. In no instance did he fail to reduce his enemy to a condition, relatively much worse than that in which he met him; his own condition of course, being relatively improved.

The battle of the Eutaw Springs, was the last essay in arms, in which it was the fortune of General Greene to com-



mand, and was succeeded by the abandonment of the whole of South Carolina by the enemy, except Charleston. During the relaxation that followed, a dangerous plot was formed, by some mutinous persons of the army, to deliver up their brave General to the British. The plot was discovered and defeated; the ring-leader apprehended, tried and shot, and twelve of the most guilty of his associates, deserted to the enemy. To the honor of the American character, no native of the country was known to be concerned in this conspiracy. Foreigners alone were its projectors and abettors.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis, whose enterprising spirit had been by the British ministry, expected to repair the losses, and wipe away the disgrace which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other Generals, having convinced them of the impracticability of subjugating America, they discontinued offensive operations in every quarter. The happy period at length arrived, when by the virtue and bravery of her sons, aided by the bounty of heaven, America compelled her invaders to acknowledge her independence. Then her armies quitted the tented field, and retired to cultivate the arts of peace and happiness.—General Greene, immediately withdrew from the south, and returned to the bosom of his native state.

The reception he there experienced, was cordial and joyous. The authorities welcomed him home, with congratulatory addresses, and the chief men of the place waited upon him at his dwelling, eager to testify their gratitude for his services, their admiration of his talents and virtues, and the pride with which they recognized him as a native of Rhode-Island.

On the close of the war, the three southern states, that had been the most essentially benefitted by his wisdom and valor, manifested, at once, their sense of justice, and their gratitude to General Greene, by liberal donations. South Carolina presented him with an estate, valued at ten thousand pounds sterling; Georgia, with an estate, a few miles from the city of Savannah, worth five thousand pounds; and North Carolina, with twenty five thousand acres of land in the State of Tennessee.

Having spent about two years in his native state, in the adjustment of his private affairs, he sailed for Georgia, in October, 1785, and settled with his family, on his estate near Savannah. Engaging here in agricultural pursuits, he

employed himself closely in arrangements for planting, exhibiting the fairest promise to become as eminent in the practice of the peaceful virtues, as he had already shown himself in the occupations of war.

But it was the will of Heaven, that in this new sphere of action, his course should be limited. The short period of seven months, was destined to witness its commencement and its close.

Walking over his grounds, as was his custom, without his hat, on the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1786, the day being intensely hot, he was suddenly attacked with such a vertigo and prostration of strength, as to be unable to return to his house without assistance. The affection was what is denominated a "stroke of the sun." It was succeeded by fever, accompanied with stupor, delirium, and a disordered stomach. All efforts to subdue it proving fruitless, it terminated fatally on the 19th of the month.

Intelligence of the event being conveyed to Savannah, but one feeling pervaded the place. Sorrow was universal; and the whole town instinctively assumed the aspect of mourning. All business was suspended, the dwelling houses, stores and shops were closed, and the shipping in the harbour half-masted their colours.

On the following day the body of the deceased being conveyed to the town, at the request of the inhabitants, was interred in a private cemetery with military honors, the magistrates of the place and other public officers, the society of the Cincinnati, and the citizens generally joining in the procession.\*

On the 12th of August, of the year in which the general died, the Congress of the United States unanimously resolved—"That a monument be erected to the memory of the Honorable Nathaniel Greene, at the seat of the Federal Government, with the following inscription:

SACRED

to the memory of the  
HON. NATHANIEL GREENE,  
who departed this life,  
the 19th of June, MDCCLXXXVI.  
late Major General in the  
service of the U. S. and

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\*General Greene left behind him a wife and five children.

Commander of the Army in  
the southern department.  
The United States, in Congress  
assembled, in honor of his  
PATRIOTISM, VALOR, AND ABILITY,  
have erected this  
MONUMENT.

To the disgrace of the nation, no monument has been erected ; nor, for the want of a head-stone, can any one at present, designate the spot, where the relics of the *Hero of the South* lie interred !!

In estimating the military character of General Greene, facts authorize the inference, that he possessed a genius adapted by nature to military command. After resorting to arms, his attainment to rank was much more rapid, than that of any other officer our country has produced ; perhaps the most rapid that history records. These offices, so high in responsibility and honor, were conferred on him, not as matters of personal favor, or family influence, nor yet through the instrumentality of political intrigue. They were rewards of pre-eminent merit, and tokens of recognized fitness for the highest functions of military service.

It is said, that, on his very first appearance in the camp at Cambridge, from the ardor of his zeal, unremitted activity, and strict attention to every duty, he was pronounced, by soldiers of distinction,\* a man of real military genius.

"His knowledge," (said General Knox to a distinguished citizen of South-Carolina,) "is intuitive. He came to us the rawest, and most untutored being I ever met with ; but in less than twelve months, he was equal in military knowledge to any general officer in the army, and very superior to most of them." Even the enemy he conquered, did homage to his pre-eminent talents for war. Tarleton, who had strong ground to know him, is reported to have pronounced him, on a public occasion, the most able and accomplished commander that America had produced.

When acting under the order of others, he never failed to discharge, to their satisfaction, the duties entrusted to him, however arduous. But it is the southern department of the union, that constitutes the theatre of his achievements and fame. It was there, where his views were unshackled, and

\* Col. Pickering and others.



his genius free, that by performing the part of a great captain, he erected for himself a monument of reputation, durable as history, lofty as victory and conquest could render it, and brightened by all that glory could bestow.

In compliment to his brilliant successes, the chivalrie de la Luzerne, the minister of France, who, as a knight of Malta, must be considered as a competent judge of military merit, thus speaks of him :—" Other generals subdue their enemies by the means with which their country, or their sovereign furnished them, but Greene appears to subdue his enemy by his own means. He commenced his campaign, without either an army, provisions or military stores. He has asked for nothing since ; and yet, scarcely a post arrives from the south, that does not bring intelligence of some new advantage gained over his foe. He conquers by magic. History furnishes no parallel to this."

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### **NATHAN HALE,**

Captain in the American Army.

AFTER the unfortunate engagement on Long-Island, General Washington called a council of war, who determined on an immediate retreat to New-York. The intention was prudently concealed from the army, who knew not whither they were going, but imagined it was to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about 9,000 men, were conveyed to the city of New-York, over East River, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant. Providence in a remarkable manner favored the retreating army. The wind, which seemed to prevent the troops getting over at the appointed hour, afterwards shifted to their wishes.

Perhaps the fate of America was never suspended by a more brittle thread than previously to this memorable retreat. A spectacle is here presented of an army, destined for the defence of a great continent, driven to the narrow borders of an island, with a victorious army double its number in front, with navigable waters in its rear ; constantly liable to have its communication cut off by the enemy's navy, and every moment exposed to an attack. The presence of mind which

animated the commander in chief in this critical situation, the prudence with which all the necessary measures were executed, redounded as much or more to his honor than the most brilliant victories. An army, to which America looked for safety, preserved; a general, who was considered as an host himself, saved for the future necessities of his country. Had not, however, the circumstances of the night, of the wind and weather, been favorable, the plan, however well concerted, must have been defeated. To a good Providence, therefore, are the people of America indebted for the complete success of an enterprise so important in its consequences.

This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long-Island. What could be their future operations remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength, and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose Gen. Washington applied to Col. Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light-infantry, which formed the rear of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to CAPTAIN NATHAN HALE, of Connecticut, who was a captain in his regiment.

This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long-Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return, he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views. Sir William Howe at once gave an order to have him executed the next morning.

This order was accordingly executed in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a bible for a few moments' devotion, was not procured, although he wished it. Letters, which on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother and other friends, were destroyed, and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost marshal, "THAT THE REBELS

SHOULD NOT KNOW THEY HAD A MAN IN THEIR ARMY WHO COULD DIE WITH SO MUCH FIRMNESS."

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this, as his dying observation : that " HE ONLY LAMENTED THAT HE HAD BUT ONE LIFE TO LOSE FOR HIS COUNTRY."

Although the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is however, but justice to the character of Captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances. Neither expectation of promotion, nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the general good became honorable by being necessary, were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprise by which his connections lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

The fate of this most unfortunate young man, excites the most interesting reflections. To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading of the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings even of his enemies.

Should a comparison be drawn between Major Andre and Captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. While almost every historian of the American revolution has celebrated the virtues and lamented the fate of Andre, Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known such a character existed.

To the memory of Andre, his country have erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honors and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale, not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult ?



**ALEXANDER HAMILTON,**

Inspector-General in the American Army.

COLONEL HAMILTON was a native of the Island of St. Croix, and was born in 1757. His father was the younger son of an English family, and his mother was an American lady of respectable connexions. At the age of sixteen he accompanied his mother to New-York, and entered a student of Columbia College, in which he continued about three years. While a member of this institution, the first buddings of his intellect gave presages of his future eminence.

The contest with Great Britain called forth the first talents on each side, and his juvenile pen asserted the violated rights of the American colonies against the most respectable writers. His papers exhibited such evidence of intellect and wisdom, that they were ascribed to Mr. Jay; and when the truth was discovered, America saw, with astonishment, a lad of seventeen, in the list of her able advocates.

The first sound of war awakened his martial spirit, and, at the age of eighteen, he entered the American army as captain, in the corps of artillery. Soon after the war was transferred to the Hudson, in 1777, his superior endowments recommended him to the attention of the commander in chief, into whose family, before completing his twenty-first year, he was invited to enter, as an aid, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Equally brave and intelligent, he continued in this situation to display a degree which commanded the confidence and esteem of the principal officers in the army.

His sound understanding, comprehensive views, application and promptitude, soon gained him the entire confidence of General Washington. In such a school, it was impossible but that his genius should be nourished. By intercourse with his general, by surveying his plans, observing his consummate prudence, and by a minute inspection of the springs of national operations, he became fitted for command.

Throughout the campaign, which terminated in the capture of Lord Cornwallis, Col. Hamilton commanded a battalion of light infantry. At the siege of York, in 1781, when the second parallel was opened, two redoubts, which

flanked it, and were advanced three hundred yards in front of the British works, very much annoyed the men in the trenches : it was resolved to possess them ; and to prevent jealousies, the attack of the one was committed to the French, and of the other to the Americans. The detachment of the Americans was commanded by the Marquis de La Fayette ; and Colonel Hamilton, at his own earnest request, led the advanced corps, consisting of two battalions. Towards the close of the day, on the fourteenth of October, the troops rushed to the charge without firing a single gun ; and so great was their ardor that they did not give the sappers time to remove the abattis and palisades. Passing over them, they assailed the works with irresistible impetuosity on all sides at once, and entered them with such rapidity that their loss was inconsiderable. The irritation produced by the recent carnage at Fort Griswold, had not so far subdued the humanity of the American character as to induce retaliation. Not a man was killed, except in action. " Incapable," said Colonel Hamilton, in his report, " of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, the soldiery spared every man, that ceased to resist."

Soon after the capture of Cornwallis, Hamilton sheathed his sword, and being encumbered with a family, and destitute of funds, at the age of twenty-five, applied to the study of the law. In this profession he soon rose to distinction. But the critical circumstances of the existing government, induced him to accept a seat in the Congress of the United States. In all the important acts of the day, he performed a conspicuous part, and was greatly distinguished among those distinguished characters whom the crisis had attracted to the councils of the country. Being a member of Congress, while the question of the commutation of the half pay of the army for a sum in gross, was in debate, delicacy, and a desire to be useful to the army, by removing the idea of his having an interest in the question, induced him to write to the secretary of war, and relinquish his claim to half pay, which, or the equivalent, he never received.

We have now arrived at an interesting and important period in the life of Hamilton. After witnessing the debility of the old confederation, and its inefficiency to accomplish the objects proposed by its articles, viz : " common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare," a convention of the states was agreed upon, for the purpose of forming an efficient federal government. In this convention was col-

lected the sound wisdom of the country—the patriots and sages, who, by their valor and their prudence, had carried her triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution, and had given her a name among the nations of the earth. To this convention Hamilton was appointed a delegate from the state of New-York. It convened at the state house in Philadelphia, May 25, 1787. An unanimous vote placed General Washington in the chair.

“It was soon found,” says Mr. Martin, one of the delegates from Maryland, “there were among us three parties, of very different sentiments and views. One party, whose object and wish it was to abolish and annihilate all state governments, and to bring forward one general government over this extensive continent, of a monarchical nature, under certain restrictions and limitations:—Those who openly avowed this sentiment were, it is true, but few, yet it is equally true, sir, that there was a considerable number who did not openly avow it, who were, by myself, and many others of the convention, considered as being in reality favorers of that sentiment, and acting upon those principles, covertly endeavoring to carry into effect what they well knew openly and avowedly could not be accomplished.

“The second party was not for the abolition of the state governments, nor for the introduction of a monarchical government under any form; but they wished to establish such a system as could give their own states undue power and influence in the government over the other states.

“A third party was what I considered truly federal and republican; this party was nearly equal in number with the other two, and were composed of the delegations from Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Delaware, and in part from Maryland; also of some individuals from other representations.”

During the heat of party animosity, much was said and written of the monarchical views of Hamilton, and of his attempts, in the convention which formed our constitution, to carry those views into effect. How far the sentiments imputed to him are correct, the following paper, read by him, as containing his ideas of a suitable plan of government for the United States, will show:—

“1. The supreme legislative power of the United States of America to be vested in two distinct bodies of men, the one to be called the assembly, the other the senate, who, together, shall form the legislature of the United States, with



power to pass all laws whatsoever, subject to the negative hereafter mentioned.

" 2. The assembly to consist of persons elected by the people, to serve for three years.

" 3. The senate to consist of persons elected to serve during good behaviour; their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people. In order to this, the states to be divided into election districts. On the death, removal, or resignation of any senator, his place to be filled out of the district from which he came.

" 4. The supreme executive authority of the United States to be vested in a governor, to be elected to serve during good behaviour. His election to be made by electors, chosen by the people, in the election districts aforesaid. His authorities and functions to be as follows:

" To have a negative upon all laws about to be passed, and the execution of all laws passed: to have the entire direction of war, when authorised, or begun; to have, with the advice and approbation of the senate, the power of making all treaties; to have the sole appointment of the heads or chief officers of the departments of finance, war, and foreign affairs; to have the nomination of all other officers, (ambassadors to foreign nations included) subject to the approbation or rejection of the senate; to have the power of pardoning all offences, except treason, which he shall not pardon, without the approbation of the senate.

" 5. On the death, resignation, or removal of the governor, his authorities to be exercised by the president of the senate, until a successor be appointed.

" 6. The senate to have the sole power of declaring war; the power of advising and approving all treaties; the power of approving or rejecting all appointments of officers, except the heads or the chiefs of departments of finance, war, and foreign affairs.

" 7. The supreme judicial authority of the United States to be vested in the judges, to hold their offices during good behaviour, with adequate and permanent salaries. This court to have original jurisdiction in all cases of capture; and an appellate jurisdiction in all causes, in which the revenues of the general government, or the citizens of foreign nations, are concerned.

" 8. The legislature of the United States to have power to institute courts in each state, for the determination of all matters of general concern.

" 9. The governors, senators, and all officers of the United States, to be liable to impeachment for mal and corrupt conduct; and, upon conviction, to be removed from office, and disqualified for holding any place of trust, or profit. All impeachments to be tried by a court to consist of the chief, or senior judge of the superior court of law in each state; provided, that such judge hold his place during good behavior, and have a permanent salary.

" 10. All laws of the particular states, contrary to the constitution or laws of the United States, to be utterly void. And the better to prevent such laws being passed, the governor or president of each state shall be appointed by the general government, and shall have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the state of which he is governor, or president.

" 11. No state to have any forces, land or naval; and the militia of all the states to be under the sole and exclusive direction of the United States; the officers of which to be appointed and commissioned by them."

Such being the views of Hamilton, the constitution, framed by the convention, did not completely meet his wishes. He was afraid it did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation, and that in consequence we should share the fate of many other republics, and pass through anarchy to despotism. He was in favor of a more permanent executive and senate. He wished for a strong government, which would not be shaken by the conflict of different interests through an extensive territory, and which should be adequate to all the forms of national exigency. He was apprehensive, that the increased wealth and population of the states would lead to encroachments on the union. These were his views and feelings, and he freely and honestly expressed them.

A respectable member of the convention once remarked, that if the constitution did not succeed, on trial, Mr. Hamilton was less responsible for that result than any other member, for he fully and frankly pointed out to the convention what he apprehended were the infirmities to which it was liable. And that if it answered the fond expectations of the public, the community would be more indebted to Mr. Hamilton than to any other member; for after its essential outlines were agreed to, he labored most indefatigably to heal those infirmities, and to guard against the evils to which they might expose it.

The patriotism of Hamilton was not of that kind which yields every thing, because it cannot accomplish all that it desires. Believing the constitution incomparably superior to the old confederation, he exerted all his talents in its support.

After the publication of the constitution, Hamilton, in concert with Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison, commenced the "Federalist," a series of essays, addressed to the people of the state of New-York, in favor of the adoption of the constitution. These papers first made their appearance in the daily prints, early in November, 1787, and the work was not concluded until a short time previous to the meeting of the state convention, in June, 1788. It is well understood, that Mr. Hamilton was the principal author, and wrote at least three-fourths of the numbers. This work is not to be classed among the ephemeral productions, which are calculated to produce a party purpose, and when that purpose is answered, to expire forever. It is a profound and learned disquisition on the principles of a federal representative government, and combines an ardent attachment to public liberty. This work will no doubt endure as long as any of the republican institutions of this country, on which it is so luminous and elegant a commentary.

His voice co-operated with his pen. In the convention of the state, which met to deliberate on the federal constitution, he was returned a member, and was always heard with awe, perhaps with conviction; though not always with success. But when the crisis arrived; when a vote was to determine whether New-York should retain or relinquish her place in the union; and preceding occurrences made it probable that she would choose the worst part of the alternative, Hamilton arose in redoubled strength. He argued, he remonstrated, he entreated, he warned, he painted, till apathy itself was moved, and the most relentless of human things, *a preconcerted majority*, was staggered and broken. Truth was again victorious, and New-York enrolled herself under the standard of the federal constitution.

The constitution having gone into operation, and the executive departments being established, Mr. Hamilton was appointed, in the summer of 1789, to the office of secretary of the treasury. The task of recruiting public credit, of drawing order and arrangement from the chaotic confusion in which the finances of America were involved, and of devising means which should render the revenue productive,



and commensurate with the demand, in a manner least burdensome to the people, was justly classed among the most arduous of the duties which devolved on the new government.

This office he held between five and six years; and when we look back to the measures that within that period he originated, matured, and vindicated, we are astonished in the contemplation of the various powers of his ingenious and exalted mind. Mr. Hamilton is justly considered the *Founder* of the *Public Credit* of this country.

The manner in which the several states entered into and conducted the war of the revolution will be recollected.— Acting in some respects separately, and in others conjointly, for the attainment of a common object, their resources were exerted, sometimes under the authority of Congress, sometimes under the authority of the local governments, to repel the enemy wherever he came. The debt incurred in support of the war was, therefore, in the first instance, contracted partly by the continent, and partly by the states. When the system of requisition was adopted, the transactions of the union were carried on, in a great degree, through the agency of the states, and when the measure of compensating the army, for the depreciation of their pay, became necessary, this burden, under the recommendation of Congress, was assumed by the respective states. In their exertions to meet the calls of Congress, some degree of inequality had obtained, and they looked anxiously to a settlement of accounts between them.

To assume these debts, and to fund them in common with that which continued to be the proper debt of the union, was proposed by Mr. Hamilton, in his first report to Congress, as secretary of the treasury.

This celebrated report, which has been alike the fruitful theme of extravagant praise and bitter censure, was rigorously opposed in Congress. It was agreed by all, that the foreign debt should be provided for in the manner proposed by the Secretary, but with respect to the domestic debt, the same unanimity was far from prevailing. It was contended that the general government would acquire an undue influence, and that the state governments would be annihilated by the measure. Not only would all the influence of the public creditors, be thrown into the scale of the former, but it would absorb all the powers of taxation, and leave the latter only the shadow of a government. This would proba-

bly terminate in rendering the state governments useless, and would destroy the system so recently established.

The constitutional authority of the federal government to assume these debts was questioned.

On the ground of policy it was objected, that the assumption would impose on the United States a burden, the weight of which was unascertained, and which would require an extension of taxation beyond the limits which prudence would prescribe. That the debt, by being thus accumulated, would be perpetuated, and the Secretary was charged with the doctrine, "that a public debt was a public blessing."

The measure was said to be unwise too, as it would affect the public credit. Such an augmentation of the debt, must inevitably depreciate its value; since it was the character of paper, whatever denomination it might assume, to diminish in value in proportion to the quantity in circulation.

In support of the assumption, the debts of the states were traced to their origin. America, it was said, had engaged in a war, the object of which was equally interesting to every part of the union. It was not the war of a particular state, but of the United States. It was not the liberty and independence of a part, but of the whole, for which they had contended, and which they had acquired. The cause was a common cause. As brethren, the American people had consented to hazard property and life in its defence. All the sums expended in this great object, whatever might be the authority under which they were raised or appropriated, conduced to the same end. Troops were raised and military stores were purchased, before Congress assumed the command of the army, or control of the war. The ammunition which repulsed the enemy at Bunker's Hill, was purchased by Massachusetts, and formed a part of the debt of that state.

The great moving principle which governed Hamilton in his department, was *good faith*. "Public credit," said he, "could only be maintained by good faith, by a punctual performance of contracts;" and, good faith was recommended, not only by the strongest inducements of political expediency, but was enforced by considerations of still higher authority. There are arguments for it which rest on the immutable principles of moral obligation. And in proportion as the mind is disposed to contemplate in the order of Providence, an intimate connexion between public virtue and public happiness, will be its repugnancy to a violation of those principles.

"This reflection," he said, "derived additional strength from the nature of the debt of the United States. *It was the price of liberty.* The faith of America had been repeatedly pledged for it, and with solemnities that gave peculiar force to the obligation."

His report, though strenuously opposed, was finally adopted, and under his administration, the finances advanced to a state of prosperity beyond all expectation, and so as to engage the attention, and command the confidence of Europe. The effect was electrical. Commerce revived, the ploughshare glittered; property recovered its value; credit was established; revenue created; the treasury filled.

The insinuation that has often been inculcated, that Hamilton patronized the doctrine, that a public debt was a public blessing, is without the shadow of a foundation. He inculcates with great solicitude in his reports, that "the progressive accumulation of debts was the natural *disease* of governments; that it ought to be guarded against with provident foresight and inflexible perseverance; that it ought to be a fundamental maxim in the system of public credit, *that the creation of public debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment.*"

The beneficial effects of the measures recommended by Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, and which are known and felt constantly, have at last accomplished what argument alone could not do—they forced an universal conviction on the public mind; and all the dread spectres which were conjured up at the time to terrify the imagination, and blind the judgment, have long since disappeared before the light of experience. He has left to his successor little more to do than to follow his precepts, and to shine by the lustre of his example.

Mr. Hamilton, in his character of Secretary of the Treasury, was also one of the constitutional advisers of the President, in relation generally to the duties of his office.

In January, 1795, Hamilton resigned his office of Secretary of the Treasury, and once more returned to private life. In the rage and rancor of party, at the time, no wonder that the tongue of slander followed him. So fair was the opportunity of acquiring a princely fortune which was presented to him, and the disposition to profit by it so little at variance with the common estimate of honorable gain, that few supposed it possible to resist the temptation. The fact being presumed, every petty politician erected himself into a



critic ; while the gazettes, the streets, the polls of election, resounded with the millions amassed by the Secretary. It is natural that the idolaters of gold should treat the contempt of it as a chimera. But gold was not the idol of HAMILTON. Exquisitely delicate toward official character, he touched none of the advantages which he put within the reach of others ; he vested not a dollar in the public funds. He entered into the public service with property of his own, the well earned reward of professional talent ; he continued to it till his funds were gone ; and left it, to get bread for a suffering family. It was surely enough that he had impoverished himself while he was enriching the commonwealth ; but it was beyond measure insulting to charge him, under such circumstances, with invading the public purse.

The last great occasion which called Hamilton upon the theatre of public action, existed in the spring of the year, 1798. It will be recollected that France had been long making piratical depredations upon our commerce ; that our ministers had been treated with the grossest indignity, and money demanded of the United States on terms the most degrading. Open and determined war was the consequence.

Washington was appointed Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief. The following letter from him to President Adams, on the subject of appointing Hamilton to the second in command, shows his high standing in the opinion of the illustrious Washington.

“ *Mount-Vernon, Sept. 25, 1798.*

“ It is an invidious task, at all times, to draw comparisons, and I shall avoid it as much as possible ; but I have no hesitation in declaring, that if the public is to be deprived of the services of Col. Hamilton in the military line, the post he was destined to fill will not easily be supplied—and that this is the sentiment of the public, I think I may venture to pronounce. Although Colonel Hamilton has never acted in the character of a general officer, yet his opportunities, as the *principal and most confidential aid* of the Commander in Chief, afforded him the means of viewing every thing on a larger scale than those who had only divisions and brigades to attend to ; who knew nothing of the correspondences of the Commander in Chief, or of the various orders to, or transactions with, the general staff of the army. These

advantages, and his having served with usefulness in the old Congress, in the general convention, and having filled one of the most important departments of Government with acknowledged abilities and integrity, have placed him on high ground ; and made him a conspicuous character in the United States, and even in Europe. To these, as a matter of no small consideration, may be added, that as a lucrative practice in the line of his profession is his most certain dependence, the inducement to relinquish it must in some degree be commensurate. By some he is considered as an *ambitious* man, and therefore a dangerous one. That he is *ambitious* I shall readily grant, but it is of that *laudable kind*, which prompts a man to excel in whatever he takes in hand.

“He is enterprising—quick in his perceptions—and his judgment intuitively great : qualities essential to a great military character ; and therefore I repeat, *that his loss will be irreparable.*”

“GEO. WASHINGTON.”

Hamilton was accordingly appointed *Inspector General*, agreeable to the wishes of Washington. On the death of that great man, he succeeded to the office of *Commander in Chief*, and continued in that character, until the army was disbanded in the summer of 1800, when he returned again to his profession in the city of New-York. In this place he passed the remainder of his days.

In June, 1804, Colonel Burr, Vice-President of the United States, addressed a letter to General Hamilton, requiring his acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression derogatory to the honor of the former. Perhaps the most satisfactory manner of introducing the reader to his subject, will be to begin with the correspondence which led to the fatal interview. It is as follows :

*New-York, June 18, 1804.*

Sir—I send for your perusal a letter signed Charles D. Cooper, which, though apparently some time ago, has but very recently come to my knowledge. Mr. Van Ness, who does me the favor to deliver this, will point out to you that clause of the letter to which I particularly request your attention.

You must perceive, Sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any ex-

pression which would warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient serv't

Gen. Hamilton.

A. BURR.

New-York, June 20, 1804.

Sir—I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th inst. and the more I have reflected the more I have become convinced, that I could not, without manifest impropriety, make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms: “I could detail to you a *still more despicable* opinion which General Hamilton *has expressed* of Mr. Burr.” To endeavor to discover the meaning of this declaration, I was obliged to seek, in the antecedent part of this letter, for the opinion to which it referred, as having been already disclosed. I found it in these words: “General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a *dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government.*”

The language of Dr. Cooper plainly implies, that *he* considered this opinion of you, which he attributes to me, as a *despicable* one; but he affirms that I have expressed some other, *more despicable*, without, however, mentioning to whom, when, or where. 'Tis evident that the phrase, “*still more despicable*,” admits of infinite shades, from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended? or how shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?

Between gentlemen, *despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of distinction; when, therefore, you do not interrogate me, as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude, that you view it as within the limits to which the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and consequently as not warranting the idea of it which Dr. Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw, as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you *still more despicable* than the one which is particularized? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?

But I forbear further comment on the embarrassment, to which the requisition you have made naturally leads. The



occasion forbids a more ample illustration, though nothing could be more easy than to pursue it.

Repeating that I cannot reconcile it with propriety to make the acknowledgment or denial you desire, I will add that I deem it inadmissible on principle, to consent to be interrogated as to the justness of the *inferences* which may be drawn by others from whatever I may have said of a political opponent, in the course of fifteen years' competition. If there were no other objection to it, this is sufficient, that it would tend to expose my sincerity and delicacy to injurious imputations from every person who may at any time have conceived the *import* of my expressions, differently from what I may then have intended or may afterwards recollect. I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman.—More than this cannot fitly be expected from me; and especially it cannot be reasonably expected that I shall enter into an explanation upon a basis so vague as that which you have adopted. I trust, on more reflection, you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequences.

The publication of Dr. Cooper was never seen by me till after the receipt of your letter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

A. HAMILTON.

Col. Burr.

*New-York, 21st June, 1804.*

Sir—Your letter of the 20th instant has been this day received. Having considered it attentively, I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value.

Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honor, and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege nor indulge it in others.

The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Dr. Cooper, the idea of dishonor. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not, whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax, and with grammatical accuracy; but, whether you have authorized this application, either directly or by uttering expressions or

opinions derogatory to my honor. The time "when" is in your own knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed, so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable.

Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient,

A. BURR

Gen. Hamilton.

On Saturday, the 22d of June, General Hamilton, for the first time, called on Mr. Pendleton and communicated to him the preceding correspondence. He informed him that in a conversation with Mr. Van Ness, at the time of receiving the last letter, he told Mr. Van Ness that he considered that letter as rude and offensive, and that it was not possible for him to give it any other answer than that Mr. Burr must take such steps as he might think proper. He said further, that Mr. Van Ness requested him to take time to deliberate, and then return an answer, when he might possibly entertain a different opinion, and that he would call on him to receive it. That his reply to Mr. Van Ness was, that he did not perceive it possible for him to give any other answer than that he had mentioned, unless Mr. Burr would take back his last letter and write one which would admit of a different reply. He then gave Mr. Pendleton the letter hereafter mentioned, of the 22d June, to be delivered to Mr. Van Ness when he should call on Mr. Pendleton for an answer, and went to his country house.

The next day General Hamilton received, while there, the following letter:—

*June 23d, 1804.*

Sir—In the afternoon of yesterday, I reported to Col. Burr the result of my last interview with you, and appointed the evening to receive his further instructions. Some private engagements, however, prevented me from calling on him till this morning. On my return to the city, I found, upon inquiry, both at your office and house, that you had returned to your residence in the country. Lest an interview there might be less agreeable to you than elsewhere, I have taken the liberty of addressing you this note to in-

quire when and where it will be most convenient to you to receive a communication.

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

Gen. Hamilton.

Mr. Pendleton understood from General Hamilton that he immediately answered, that if the communication was pressing he would receive it at his country house that day; if not, he would be at his house in town the next morning at nine o'clock. But he did not give Mr. Pendleton any copy of his note.

*New-York, June 22, 1804.*

Sir—Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it; but by your last letter, received this day, containing expressions *indecorous* and improper, you have increased the difficulties to explanation intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

If by a "definite reply," you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no other answer to give, than that which has already been given. If you mean any thing different, admitting of greater latitude, it is requisite you should explain.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient serv't.

ALEX. HAMILTON.

Aaron Burr, Esq.

This letter, although dated on the 22d June, remained in Mr. Pendleton's possession until the 25th, within which period he had several conversations with Mr. Van Ness. In these conversations Mr. Pendleton endeavored to illustrate and enforce the propriety of the ground General Hamilton had taken. Mr. Pendleton mentioned to Mr. Van Ness as the result, that if Col. Burr would write a letter, requesting to know in substance whether, in the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, any particular instance of dishonorable conduct was imputed to Col. Burr, or whether there was any impeachment of his private character, General Hamilton would declare, to the best of his recollection, what passed



in that conversation: and Mr. Pendleton read to Mr. Van Ness a paper containing the substance of what General Hamilton would say on that subject, which is as follows :—

“ General Hamilton says he cannot imagine to what Doctor Cooper may have alluded, unless it were to a conversation at Mr. Taylor’s in Albany, last winter, (at which he and Gen. Hamilton were present.) Gen. Hamilton cannot recollect distinctly the particulars of that conversation so as to undertake to repeat them, without running the risk of varying, or omitting what might be deemed important circumstances. The expressions are entirely forgotten, and the specific ideas imperfectly remembered; but to the best of his recollection it consisted of comments on the political principles and views of Col. Burr, and the results that might be expected from them in the event of his election as governor, without reference to any particular instance of past conduct, or to private character.”

After the delivery of the letter of the 22d, as above mentioned; in another interview with Mr. Van Ness, he desired Mr. Pendleton to give him *in writing* the substance of what he had proposed on the part of General Hamilton, which Mr. Pendleton did, in the words following :—

“ In answer to a letter properly adapted to obtain from General Hamilton a declaration whether he had charged Col. Burr with any particular instance of dishonorable conduct, or had impeached his private character, either in the conversation alluded to by Dr. Cooper, or in any other particular instance to be specified; he would be able to answer consistently with his honor, and the truth, in substance, that the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, turned wholly on political topics, and did not attribute to Col. Burr any instance of dishonorable conduct, nor relate to his private character; and in relation to any other language or conversation of General Hamilton which Col. Burr will specify, a prompt and frank avowal or denial will be given.”

On the 26th June, Mr. Pendleton received the following letter :—

Sir—The letter which you yesterday delivered me, and your subsequent communication, in Col. Burr’s opinion,

evinced no disposition, on the part of Gen. Hamilton to come to a satisfactory accommodation.—The injury complained of, and the reparation expected, are so definitely expressed in Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st instant, that there is not perceived a necessity for further explanation on his part. The difficulty that would result from confining the inquiry to any particular times and occasions, must be manifest. The denial of a specified conversation only, would leave strong implications that on other occasions improper language had been used.—When and where injurious opinions and expressions have been uttered by Gen. Hamilton, must be best known to him, and of him only will Col. Burr inquire. *No denial or declaration will be satisfactory, unless it be general, so as wholly to exclude the idea that rumors derogatory to Col. Burr's honor have originated with Gen. Hamilton, or have been fairly inferred from any thing he has said.* A definite reply to a question of this nature was demanded by Col. Burr's letter of the 21st instant. This being refused, invites the alternative alluded to in Gen. Hamilton's letter of the 20th.

It was required by the position in which the controversy was placed by Gen. Hamilton, on Friday\* last, and I was immediately furnished with a communication demanding a personal interview. The necessity of this measure has not, in the opinion of Col. Burr, been diminished by the General's last letter, or any communication which has since been received. I am consequently again instructed to deliver you a message, as soon as it may be convenient for you to receive it. I beg, therefore, you will be so good as to inform me at what hour I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

Your most obedient and  
very humble servant,  
W. P. VAN NESS.

Nath'l. Pendleton, Esq.  
June 26th.

26th June, 1804.

Sir—I have communicated the letter which you did me the honor to write to me of this date, to Gen. Hamilton. The expectations now disclosed on the part of Col. Burr,

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\*June 22d.

appeared to him to have greatly extended the original ground of inquiry, and instead of presenting a particular and definite case for explanation, seem to aim at nothing less than an inquisition into his most confidential conversations, as well as others, through the whole period of his acquaintance with Col. Burr.

While he was prepared to meet the particular case fairly and fully, he thinks it inadmissible that he should be expected to answer at large as to every thing that he may possibly have said, in relation to the character of Col. Burr, at any time or upon any occasion. Though he is not conscious that any charges which are in circulation to the prejudice of Col. Burr, have originated with him, except one which may have been so considered, and which has long since been fully explained between Col. Burr and himself—yet he cannot consent to be questioned generally as to any *rumors* which may be afloat derogatory to the character of Col. Burr, without specification of the several rumors, many of them probably unknown to him. He does not, however, mean to authorise any conclusion as to the real nature of his conduct in relation to Col. Burr, by his declining so loose and vague a basis of explanation, and he disavows an unwillingness to come to a satisfactory, provided it be an honorable accommodation. His objection is, the very indefinite ground which Colonel Burr has assumed, in which he is sorry to be able to discern nothing short of predetermined hostility. Presuming, therefore, that it will be adhered to, he has instructed me to receive the message which you have it in charge to deliver. For this purpose I shall be at home, and at your command, to-morrow morning, from eight to ten o'clock.

I have the honor to be  
respectfully, your  
obedient servant,  
NATHAN'L. PENDLETON.

Wm. P. Van Ness, Esq.

Sir—The letter which I had the honor to receive from you, under date of yesterday, states, among other things, that in Gen. Hamilton's opinion, Col. Burr has taken a very indefinite ground, in which he evinces nothing short of predetermined hostility, and that Gen. Hamilton thinks it inadmissible that the inquiry should extend to his confidential as well as other conversations. In this Col. Burr can only re-



ply, that secret whispers traducing his fame, and impeaching his honor, are, at least, equally injurious with slanders publicly uttered ; that Gen. Hamilton had, at no time, and in no place, a right to use any such injurious expressions ; and that the partial negative he is disposed to give, with the reservations he wishes to make, are proofs that he has done the injury specified.

Col. Burr's request was, in the first instance, proposed in a form the most simple, in order that Gen. Hamilton might give to the affair that course to which he might be induced by his temper and his knowledge of facts. Col Burr trusted with confidence, that from the frankness of a soldier and the candor of a gentleman, he might expect an ingenuous declaration. That if, as he had reason to believe, Gen. Hamilton had used expressions derogatory to his honor, he would have had the magnanimity to retract them ; and that if from his language, injurious inferences had been improperly drawn, he would have perceived the propriety of correcting errors, which might thus have been widely diffused. With these impressions, Col. Burr was greatly surprised at receiving a letter which he considered as evasive, and which in manner he deemed not altogether decorous. In one expectation, however, he was not wholly deceived, for the close of Gen. Hamilton's letter contained an intimation that if Col. Burr should dislike his refusal to acknowledge or deny, he was ready to meet the consequences. This Col. Burr deemed a sort of defiance, and would have felt justified in making it the basis of an immediate message. But as the communication contained something concerning the indefiniteness of the request ; as he believed it rather the offspring of false pride than of reflection, and as he felt the utmost reluctance to proceed to extremities, while any other hope remained, his request was repeated in terms more explicit. The replies and propositions on the part of Gen. Hamilton have, in Col. Burr's opinion, been constantly in substance the same.

Col. Burr disavows all motives of predetermined hostility, a charge by which he thinks insult added to injury. He feels as a gentleman should feel when his honor is impeached or assailed ; and without sensations of hostility or wishes of revenge, he is determined to vindicate that honor at such hazard as the nature of the case demands.

The length to which this correspondence has extended, only tending to prove that the satisfactory redress, earn-

estly desired, cannot be obtained, he deems it useless to offer any proposition except the simple message which I shall now have the honor to deliver.

I have the honor to be,  
with great respect,  
your obedient and  
very humble serv't.  
W. P. VAN NESS.

*Wednesday Morning, }  
June 27th, 1804. }*

With this letter a message was received, such as was to be expected, containing an invitation, which was accepted, and Mr. Pendleton informed Mr. Van Ness he should hear from him the next day as to further particulars.

This letter was delivered to Gen. Hamilton on the same evening, and a very short conversation ensued between him and Mr. Pendleton, who was to call on him early the next morning for a further conference.—When he did so, Gen. Hamilton said he had not understood whether the message and answer was definitely concluded, or whether another meeting was to take place for that purpose between Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Van Ness. Under the latter impression, and as the last letter contained matter that naturally led to animadversion, he gave Mr. Pendleton a paper of remarks in his own hand writing, to be communicated to Mr. Van Ness, if the state of the affair rendered it proper.

In an interview with Mr. Van Ness on the same day, after explaining the causes which had induced Gen. Hamilton to suppose that the state of the affair did not render it improper, Mr. Pendleton offered this paper to Mr. Van Ness; but he declined receiving it, alleging, that he considered the correspondence as closed by the acceptance of the message that he had delivered.

Mr. Pendleton then informed Mr. Van Ness of the inducements mentioned by Gen. Hamilton in the paper, for at least postponing the meeting until the close of the Circuit; and as this was uncertain, Mr. Pendleton was to let him know when it would be convenient.

Here we think it most proper to introduce the paper itself. The reader will form his own judgment whether it was not Mr. Van Ness's duty to have received it, and shown it to his principal; he will probably exercise his own con-

jecture too as to Mr. Van Ness's motives for not doing so. It follows:—

*“Remarks on the letter of June 27, 1804.*

“Whether the observations on this letter are designed merely to justify the result which is indicated in the close of the letter, or may be intended to give an opening for rendering any thing explicit which may have been deemed vague heretofore, can only be judged of by the sequel. At any rate, it appears to me necessary not to be misunderstood. Mr. Pendleton is therefore authorized to say, that in the course of the present discussion, written or verbal, there has been no intention to evade, defy, or insult, but a sincere disposition to avoid extremities if it could be done with propriety. With this view, Gen. Hamilton has been ready to enter into a frank and free explanation on any and every object of a specific nature; but not to answer a general and abstract inquiry, embracing a period too long for any accurate recollection, and exposing him to unpleasant criticisms from, or unpleasant discussions with, any and every person, who may have understood him in an unfavorable sense. This (admitting that he could answer in a manner the most satisfactory to Col. Burr) he should deem inadmissible, in principle and precedent, and humiliating in practice. To this therefore he can never submit. Frequent allusion has been made to slanders said to be in circulation.—Whether they are openly or in whispers, they have a form and shape, and might be specified.

“If the alternative alluded to in the close of the letter is definitively tendered, it must be accepted; the time, place, and manner, to be afterwards regulated. I should not think it right in the midst of a Circuit Court to withdraw my services from those who may have confided important interests to me, and expose them to the embarrassment of seeking other counsel, who may not have time to be sufficiently instructed in their causes. I shall also want a little time to make some arrangements respecting my own affairs.”

On Friday the 6th of July, the circuit being closed, Mr. Pendleton informed Mr. Van Ness that General Hamilton would be ready at any time after the Sunday following. On Monday the particulars were arranged—on Wednesday the parties met at Weahawk, on the Jersey shore, at 7 o'clock,



**A. M.**—The particulars of what then took place will appear from the following statement.

It was nearly seven in the morning when the boat which carried General Hamilton, his friend Mr. Pendleton, and the Surgeon mutually agreed on, Doctor Hosack, reached that part of the Jersey shore called the *Weahawk*. There they found Mr. Burr and his friend Mr. Van Ness, who, as I am told, had been employed since their arrival, with coats off, in clearing away the bushes, limbs of trees, &c. so as to make a fair opening. The parties in a few moments were at their allotted situations: when Mr. Pendleton gave the word, Mr. Burr raised his arm slowly, deliberately took his aim, and fired. His ball entered General Hamilton's right side: as soon as the bullet struck him, he raised himself involuntarily on his toes, turned a little to the left (at which moment his pistol went off,) and fell upon his face. Mr. Pendleton immediately called out for Dr. Hosack, who, in running to the spot, had to pass Mr. Van Ness and Col. Burr; but Van Ness had the cool precaution to cover his principal with an umbrella, so that Dr. Hosack should not be able to swear that he saw him on the field. What passed after this, the reader will have in the following letter from Dr. Hosack himself.

*August 17th, 1804.*

“Dear Sir—To comply with your request is a painful task; but I will repress my feelings while I endeavor to furnish you with an enumeration of such particulars relative to the melancholy end of our beloved friend Hamilton, as dwell most forcibly on my recollection.

“When called to him, upon his receiving the fatal wound, I found him half sitting on the ground, supported in the arms of Mr. Pendleton. His countenance of death I shall never forget—He had at that instant just strength to say, “This is a mortal wound Doctor;” when he sunk away, and became to all appearance lifeless.” I immediately stripped up his clothes, and soon, alas! ascertained that the direction of the ball must have been through some vital part. His pulses were not to be felt; his respiration was entirely suspended; and upon laying my hand on his heart and perceiving no motion there, I considered him as irrecoverably gone. I however observed to Mr. Pendleton, that the only chance for his reviving was immediately to get him upon the water. We therefore lifted him up, and carried him out of the

wood, to the margin of the bank, where the bargemen aided us in conveying him into the boat, which immediately put off.—During all this time I could not discover the least symptom of returning life. I now rubbed his face, lips, and temples, with spirits of hartshorne, applied it to his neck and breast, and to the wrists and palms of his hands, and endeavored to pour some into his mouth. When we had got, as I should judge, about fifty yards from the shore, some imperfect efforts to breathe were for the first time manifest : in a few minutes he sighed, and became sensible to the impression of the hartshorne, or the fresh air of the water : He breathed ; his eyes, hardly opened, wandered, without fixing upon any objects ; to our great joy he at length spoke : “ My vision is indistinct,” were his first words. His pulse became more perceptible ; his respiration more regular ; his sight returned. I then examined the wound to know if there was any dangerous discharge of blood ; upon slightly pressing his side it gave him pain ; on which I desisted. Soon after recovering his sight, he happened to cast his eye upon the case of pistols, and observing the one that he had had in his hand lying on the outside, he said, “ Take care of that pistol ; it is undischarged, and still cocked ; it may go off and do harm ;—Pendleton knows, (attempting to turn his head towards him) that I did not intend to fire at him.” “ Yes,” said Mr. Pendleton, understanding his wish, “ I have already made Dr. Hosack acquainted with your determination as to that.” He then closed his eyes and remained calm, without any disposition to speak ; nor did he say much afterwards, excepting in reply to my questions as to his feelings. He asked me once or twice how I found his pulse ; and he informed me that his lower extremities had lost all feeling ; manifesting to me that he entertained no hopes that he should long survive. I changed the posture of his limbs, but to no purpose ; they had totally lost their sensibility. Perceiving that we approached the shore, he said, “ Let Mrs. Hamilton be immediately sent for—let the event be gradually broken to her ; but give her hopes.” Looking up we saw his friend Mr. Bayard standing on the wharf in great agitation. He had been told by his servant that Gen. Hamilton, Mr. Pendleton, and myself, had crossed the river in a boat together, and too well he conjectured the fatal errand, and foreboded the dreadful result. Perceiving, as we came near, that Mr. Pendleton and myself only sat up in the stern-sheets, he

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clasped his hands together in the most violent apprehension ; but when I called to him to have a cot prepared, and he at the same moment saw his poor friend lying in the bottom of the boat, he threw up his eyes and burst into a flood of tears and lamentation. Hamilton alone appeared tranquil and composed. We then conveyed him as tenderly as possible up to the house. The distresses of this amiable family were such that till the first shock was abated, they were scarcely able to summon fortitude enough to yield sufficient assistance to their dying friend.

“ Upon our reaching the house he became more languid, occasioned probably by the agitation of his removal from the boat. I gave him a little weak wine and water. When he recovered his feelings, he complained of pain in his back ; we immediately undressed him, laid him in bed, and darkened the room. I then gave him a large anodyne, which I frequently repeated. During the first day he took upwards of an ounce of laudanum ; and tepid anodyne fomentations were also applied to those parts nearest the seat of his pain—Yet were his sufferings, during the whole of the day, almost intolerable.\*

I had not the shadow of a hope of his recovery, and Dr. Post, whom I requested might be sent for immediately on our reaching Mr. Bayard's house, united with me in this opinion. General Rey, the French Consul, also had the goodness to invite the surgeons of the French frigates in our harbor, as they had had much experience in gun-shot wounds, to render their assistance. They immediately came ; but to prevent his being disturbed I stated to them his situation, described the nature of his wound and the direction of the ball, with all the symptoms that could enable them to form any opinion as to the event. One of the gentlemen then accompanied me to the bed-side. The result was a confirmation of the opinion that had already been expressed by Dr. Post and myself.

“ During the night, he had some imperfect sleep ; but the succeeding morning his symptoms were aggravated, attended however with a diminution of pain. His mind retained

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\*As his habit was delicate, and had been lately rendered more feeble by ill health, particularly by a disorder of the stomach and bowels, I carefully avoided all those remedies which are usually indicated on such occasions.



all its usual strength and composure. The great source of his anxiety seemed to be in his sympathy with his half-distracted wife and children. He spoke to me frequently of them—"My beloved wife and children," were always his expressions. But his fortitude triumphed over his situation, dreadful as it was; once, indeed at the sight of his children brought to the bed-side together, seven in number, his utterance forsook him; he opened his eyes, gave them one look, and closed them again, till they were taken away. As a proof of his extraordinary composure of mind, let me add, that he alone could calm the frantic grief of their mother. "*Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian,*" were the expressions with which he frequently, with a firm voice, but in a pathetic and expressive manner, addressed her. His words, and the tone in which they were uttered, will never be effaced from my memory. At about two o'clock, as the public well knows, he expired.†

"Incorrupta fides—nudaque veritas  
Quando ullum invenient parem?  
Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit."

Who would believe, had not the fact evinced it, that the son of the venerable President Burr, that model of christian patience, charity and meekness; that the son of such a man, the second officer in the United States, should in direct violation of the laws of heaven and his own state; after every means of reconciliation on the part of the unfortunate deceased, that was consistent with honor, had been exhausted, should take a cool and deliberate aim against the *first citizen* of our country; the father of a numerous family; the husband of a most affectionate wife; an ornament to his country and human nature. Could nothing but his blood atone for expressions honestly intended for the public good, and authorized by every just principle of an elective government? Could nothing allay the cool, persevering and premeditated resentment of his antagonist, but the heart's blood of such a man?

Well, he is gone! Gone with the tenderest esteem, the highest respect, the most affectionate tears that ever fell on the tomb of a public character. He has gone to receive

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† Extracts from Facts and Documents relative to the death of General Hamilton.

the rich reward of the many and great exertions for his country's welfare. Trusting in the merits of his Saviour, penitent for his past sins, forgiving even the foe from whom he received his mortal wound ; he is gone to receive that recompense of reward, which is the meed of the truly upright and benevolent.

Far be it from us, at this time, to excite the angry passions against the guilty author of this mighty ruin. He lives, and long may he live, his hands stained with blood unrighteously shed ! But we cannot refrain from giving a place to the following circumstances, which occurred in the city of Albany soon after the death of Hamilton.

" On Sunday morning the afflicted Mrs. Hamilton attended service in the Presbyterian Church in this city, with her three little ones.

" At the close of a prayer by the Rev. Mr. Nott, the eldest dropped on his face, in a fainting fit.

" Two gentlemen immediately raised him, and while bearing him out of church, the afflicted mother sprung forward, in the agonies of grief and despair, towards her apparently lifeless son.

" The heart-rending scene she had recently struggled with, called forth all the fine spun sensibilities of her nature ; and seemed to say, nature must, and will be indulged in her keenest sorrows. She was overpowered in the conflict, and likewise sunk, uttering such heart-rending groans, and inward sighs, as would have melted into mingled sympathies, even Burr himself.

" Both of them stood recovered ; and while the little son was supported standing on the steps, yet speechless, the most affecting scene presented itself. The mother in this tender situation, fastened herself upon the son, with her head reclining on his left shoulder : the agonies so strongly painted on her countenance ; her long flowing weeds ; the majesty of her person ; the position of both ; and above all, the peculiarity of their trying situation in the recent loss of a husband and a father ; who could refrain from invoking on the head of the guilty author of their miseries, those curses he so richly merits ? The curse of living despised, and execrated by the voice of a whole nation ; the curse of being held up to the view of future ages, a MONSTER, and an ASSASSIN."

" After the death of General Hamilton, a note which had

been written the evening before the interview, was found, addressed to the gentleman who accompanied him to the field; thanking him with tenderness for his friendship to him, and informing him where would be found the keys of certain drawers in his desk, in which he had deposited such papers as he had thought proper to leave behind him; together with his last Will.

The following paper, as containing his motives for accepting the challenge; his reflections on his situation; and some remarks on the conduct of the man, who was to be the cause of his death, is presented as a highly interesting document.

On my expected interview with Col. Burr, I think it proper to make some remarks explanatory of my conduct, motives, and views.

I was certainly desirous of avoiding this interview for the most cogent reasons.

1. My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws.

2. My wife and children are extremely dear to me, and my life is of the utmost importance to them, in various views.

3. I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors: who in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree sufferers. I did not think myself at liberty as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to this hazard.

4. I am conscious of no *ill will* to Col. Burr, distinct from political opposition, which, as I trust, has proceeded from pure and upright motives.

Lastly, I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview.

But it was, as I conceive, impossible for me to avoid it. There were *intrinsic* difficulties in the thing, and *artificial* embarrassments from the manner of proceeding on the part of Col Burr.<sup>a</sup>

Intrinsic, because it is not to be denied, that my animadversions on the political principles, character, and views of Col. Burr, have been extremely severe; and on different occasions, I, in common with many others, have made very



unfavorable criticisms on particular instances of the private conduct of this gentleman.

In proportion as these impressions were entertained with sincerity, and uttered with motives, and for purposes which might appear to me commendable, would be the difficulty, (until they could be removed by evidence of their being erroneous,) of explanation or apology. The disavowal required of me by Col. Burr, in a general and indefinite form, was out of my power, if it had really been proper for me to submit to be questioned; but I was sincerely of opinion that this could not be, and in this opinion, I was confirmed by that of a very moderate and judicious friend whom I consulted. Besides that, Col. Burr appeared to me to assume, in the first instance, a tone unnecessarily peremptory and menacing, and in the second, positively offensive. Yet I wished, as far as might be practicable, to leave a door open to accommodation. This, I think, will be inferred from the written communications made by me and by my direction, and would be confirmed by the conversations between Mr. Van Ness and myself, which arose out of the subject.

I am not sure whether, under all the circumstances, I did not go further in the attempt to accommodate, than a punctilious delicacy will justify. If so, I hope the motives I have stated will excuse me.

It is not my design, by what I have said, to affix any odium on the conduct of Col. Burr, in this case. He doubtless has heard of animadversions of mine which bore very hard upon him; and it is probable that as usual they were accompanied with some falsehoods. He may have supposed himself under a necessity of acting as he has done. I hope the grounds of his proceeding have been such as ought to satisfy his own conscience.

I trust at the same time, that the world will do me the justice to believe, that I have not censured him on light grounds, nor from unworthy inducements. I certainly have had strong reasons for what I may have said, though it is possible that in some particulars, I may have been influenced by misconstruction or misinformation. It is also my ardent wish that I may have been more mistaken than I think I have been, and that he, by his future conduct, may show himself worthy of all confidence and esteem, and prove an ornament and blessing to the country.

As well because it is possible that I may have injured

Col. Burr, however convinced myself that my opinions and declarations have been well founded, as from my general principles and temper in relation to similar affairs, I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and it pleases God to give me the opportunity, to *reserve* and *throw away* my first fire, and I *have thoughts* even of *reserving* my second fire—and thus giving a double opportunity to Col. Burr, to pause and to reflect.

It is not, however, my intention to enter into any explanation on the ground—Apology from principle, I hope, rather than pride, is out of the question.

To those who, with me, abhorring the practice of duelling, may think that I ought on no account to have added to the number of bad examples, I answer, that my *relative* situation, as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honor, imposed on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call. The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular.”\*

A. H.”

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### ISAAC HAYNE,

Colonel in the American Army.

“THIS gentleman had been a distinguished and very active officer in the American service, previous to the subjugation of Charleston. When this event took place, he found himself called to a separation from his family, a dereliction of his property, and submission to the conqueror. In this situation he thought it his duty to become a voluntary prisoner, and take his parole. On surrendering himself, he offered to engage and stand bound on the principles of honor, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest until he was exchanged ; but his abilities and his services were of such consideration to his country, that he was refused a parole, and told he must become a British subject, or submit to close confinement.

\* Vide Facts and Documents relative to Gen. Hamilton.

"His family was then in a distant part of the country, and in great distress by sickness, and from the ravages of the loyalists in their neighbourhood. Thus he seemed impelled to acknowledge himself the subject of a government he had relinquished from the purest principles, or renounce his tenderest connexions, and leave them without a possibility of his assistance, and at a moment when he hourly expected to hear of the death of an affectionate wife, ill of the small-pox.

In this state of anxiety, he subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the King of Great Britain, with this express exception, that he should never be required to *take arms against his country*. Notwithstanding this, he was soon and repeatedly called upon to arm in support of a government he detested, or to submit to the severest punishment.—Brigadier General Patterson, commandant of the garrison, and the intendant of the British police, a Mr. Simpson, had both assured Colonel Hayne, that no such thing would be required ; and added, "that when the royal army could not defend a country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be time to quit it."\*

Colonel Hayne considered a requisition to act in British service, after assurances that this would never be required, as a breach of contract, and a release in the eye of conscience, from any obligation on his part. Accordingly he took the first opportunity of resuming his arms as an American, assumed the command of his own regiment ; and all fond of their former commander, Colonel Hayne marched with a defensible body to the relief of his countrymen, then endeavouring to drive the British partisans, and keep them within the environs of Charleston. He very unfortunately in a short time fell into the hands of a strong British party, sent out for the recovery of a favorite officer,† who had left the American cause, and become a devotee to British government.

As soon as Colonel Hayne was captured, he was closely imprisoned. This was on the twenty-sixth of July. He was notified the same day, that a court of officers would assemble the next day, to determine in what point of view he ought to be considered. On the twenty-ninth he was

\* See a representation of Col. Hayne's case, laid before Congress after his death.

† This was Gen. Williamson, captured within seven miles of the city, by a small reconnoitering party sent out by Col. Hayne.



informed, that in consequence of a court of inquiry held the day before, Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant Colonel Balfour had resolved upon his execution within two days.

His astonishment at these summary and illegal proceedings can scarcely be conceived. He wrote Lord Rawdon, that he had no intimation of any thing more than a court of inquiry, to determine whether he should be considered as an American or a British subject : if the first, he ought to be set at liberty on parole ; if the last, he claimed a legal trial. He assured his lordship, that on a trial he had many things to urge in his defence ; reasons that would be weighty in a court of equity ; and concluded his letter with observing,—“ If, sir, I am refused this favor, which I cannot conceive from your justice or humanity, I earnestly entreat that my execution may be deferred ; that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare for the solemn change.”\*

But his death predetermined, his enemies were deaf to the voice of compassion. The execution of his sentence was hastened, though the reputation and merits of this gentleman were such, that the whole city was zealous for his preservation. Not only the inhabitants in opposition to British government, but even Lieutenant Governor Bull at the head of the royalists, interceded for his life. The principal ladies of Charleston endeavoured, by their compassionate interference, to arrest or influence the relentless hand of power. They drew up and presented to Lord Rawdon, a delicate and pathetic petition in his behalf. His near relations, and his children, who had just performed the funeral rites over the grave of a tender mother, appeared on their bended knees, to implore the life of their father.—But in spite of the supplications of children and friends, strangers and foes, the flinty heart of Lord Rawdon remained untouched, amidst these scenes of sensibility and distress. No amelioration of the sentence could be obtained ; and this affectionate father took a final leave of his children in a manner that pierced the souls of the beholders. To the eldest of them, a youth of but thirteen years of age, he delivered a transcript of his case, directed him to convey it to Congress, and ordered him to see that his father's remains were deposited in the tomb of his ancestors.

\* See a more full account of the treatment of Col. Hayne in his own papers, afterwards presented to Congress.

Pinioned like a criminal, this worthy citizen walked with composure through the crowds of admiring spectators, with the dignity of the philosopher, and the intrepidity of the christian. He suffered as a hero, and was hanged as a felon, amidst the tears of the multitude, and the curse of thousands, who execrated the perpetrators of this cruel deed.†

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### **WILLIAM HEATH,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL HEATH descended from an ancient family, and was of the fifth generation of the family, who have inherited the same real estate taken up in a state of nature. He was born in the year 1737, in Roxbury, Mass. and was from his youth a cultivator of the soil, of which profession he was passionately fond.

From his childhood he was remarkably fond of military exercises, which passion grew up with him, and as he arrived at years of maturity, led him to procure, and attentively study every military treatise in the English language, which he could procure.

As the dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies assumed a serious aspect, Heath did not hesitate, for a moment, to declare his sentiments in favor of the rights and liberties of his fellow-countrymen. So early as the year 1770, he commenced addresses to the public, under the signature of "*A Military Countryman*," in which he urged the importance of military discipline, and skill in the use of arms, as the only means, under heaven, that could save the country, and he assiduously applied himself in organizing and disciplining the companies of militia and minutemen.

Being ranked among the patriots and advocates for liberty, he was commissioned in 1775, by the Provincial Congress, as a brigadier-general, and in 1776, he received a commission from Congress, appointing him a major-general in the army of the United States.

Though high in rank, as an officer of parade and discipline, we look in vain for laurels acquired in the field. Had it

† Warren's Revolution.

been his destiny, however, to encounter the perils of a conflict in the field of battle, no one can say how valorously he would have acted the hero.

During the years 1777 and 1778, he was the commanding officer of the eastern department, with his head-quarters at Boston. Here devolved upon him the arduous and difficult duties of superintendent of the convention troops captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga, and now quartered at Cambridge. The station required the exercise of uncommon firmness and decision of character. And had Gen. Heath been destitute of these characteristics, he would have been subjected to the grossest impositions and indignities, from the haughtiness of the British generals, Burgoyne and Phillips, and the perverse temper of their soldiery. He who had vauntingly declared in the British Parliament, that "with five thousand men, he would make elbow room from one end of the continent to the other," could ill support himself under the chagrin and mortification of a state of captivity. His lofty spirit frequently broke forth, but General Heath soon convinced him that he was neither deficient in spirit, nor ignorant of his duty, as a military commander.

The following circumstances that occurred during the stay of the British troops at Cambridge, and the letters which passed between the officers, at once show the difficulties which arose in the path of duty prescribed to General Heath, and the promptness and vigor with which he met, and surmounted them.

Soon after the arrival of the British generals at Cambridge they made an insidious attempt to retain the chief command over their own troops. In a conversation, General Philips turning to General Heath, observed, "Sir, you well know the disposition of soldiers, and that they will more or less in all armies commit some disorders; suppose you should delegate to General Burgoyne the power of seeing *your* orders executed?"

General Heath promptly replied, "that he knew the disposition of soldiers, and also the necessity of order and discipline; that he was not only willing, but expected that Gen. Burgoyne, and every other officer would exert themselves to keep order. But as to the exercise of his own command, and enforcement of his own orders when necessary, that was a jurisdiction which General Burgoyne must not expect to exercise while here."

For two weeks after his arrival in Boston, General Bur-



goyne had neglected upon trifling excuses, to sign his parole in the manner specified in the articles of capitulation. Finding him thus disposed to evade, General Heath addressed him the following letter.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov. 23, 1777.

" Sir,

" Two weeks have now elapsed since I had fully expected that the officers would have signed their paroles. They have, during this time, been enjoying in a great measure the liberty of the limits intended to be assigned them, without pledging their honor by parole ; which is not only contrary to the established custom of nations, but contrary to the eleventh article of the Convention. I must, therefore, in the most explicit terms, insist that the officers who wish and expect to be permitted on parole, agreeably to the Convention, do sign it to-morrow. This is so reasonable, that I expect there will be no further hesitancy ; and I still assure your Excellency, that no endeavors of mine shall be wanting to fulfil the Convention, and to treat the officers with politeness and generosity.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Wm. HEATH.

To Lieut. Gen. BURGOYNE."

November 8th, 1777. Congress directed General Heath " to cause to be taken down the name and rank of every commissioned officer, and the name, size, age and description of every non-commissioned officer and private, and all other persons comprised in the convention made between Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Major General Gates, on the 16th of October, 1777, and transmit an authentic copy thereof to the board of war, in order that if any officer or soldier, or other person as above mentioned, of the said army, shall hereafter be found in arms against these States, during the present contest, he may be convicted of the offence, and suffer the punishment in such case inflicted by the law of nations."

" Upon the foregoing being communicated to General Burgoyne, and he called upon to have the said descriptive lists made out accordingly, he wrote our general the following letter :—

CAMBRIDGE, Nov. 20, 1777.

“ Sir,

“ I received a paper, dated Head-Quarters, Boston, Nov. 20th, purporting to be founded upon express orders from the Honorable Continental Congress, which paper I return as inadmissible, because extending to matters in which the Congress have no right of interference.

“ A list of the names and rank of every commissioned officer, and the numbers of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, may be necessary to you, Sir, for the purpose of fulfilling the Convention, in quartering officers, and the regular delivery of provisions, fuel, &c. Such lists shall be prepared at your request ; but before any other lists can be granted, I must be assured of the purposes for which they are intended, and the word *order* must neither be mentioned nor implied.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.

(Signed) J. BURGoyNE, Lt. Gen.

To Major Gen. HEATH.”

To the foregoing, our General wrote an answer as follows :

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, Nov. 21, 1777.

“ Sir,

“ Your's of yesterday is before me ; and although you might at first imagine that the Honorable Continental Congress have no right of interference in matters of the Convention, yet I conclude, upon further reflection you must be convinced, that as that body are the Representatives of that people who are to reap the advantages or disadvantages of the Convention, and as all continental officers are acting by virtue of their authority, and under their direction, they assuredly have a right of interference, and to give such orders to their officers as they may think proper, for the full completion of the Convention, and for the safety and good of the people.

“ I must therefore insist that you furnish me with proper lists of names, and descriptions, for the purpose before mentioned as soon as may be.

“ I shall at all times endeavor to found my orders on the principles of honor, reason and justice, and not to infringe those delicate principles in others ; but my orders for the purposes of order and regularity, must be obeyed by every man and all bodies of men placed under my direction ; and

fully determined I am, that offenders shall not pass with impunity.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

W. HEATH.

Lieut. Gen. BURGOYNE.

General Burgoyne had received intimations that a fleet of transports were about to come round for the troops, and that the *Juno* frigate was to wear a flag for his particular accommodation. This he mentioned to General Heath, and wished to know if the frigate might come up into the harbor. General Heath had no apprehensions of any danger from a frigate entering the harbor, but apprehended that some people might think that he was not sufficiently vigilant, in case he allowed it. He therefore told General Burgoyne that the frigate could not come up into the harbor, and hinted to him the taking one of the most convenient transports in the fleet for the purpose; and he might do as he pleased when he got off. This touched General Burgoyne exceedingly, who wrote a letter to General Heath, in which was the following paragraph:

“As to your allotment of a *“convenient transport”* for my passage, it was from yourself. I am to thank you, Sir, for a sort of insult which the most haughty man of office would be ashamed of in any other country. However, as I am determined every transaction concerning this Convention shall be notorious, and beyond the powers of subterfuge to explain away, I have directed the frigate together with the transports to come round, and it will then be for you, Sir, to prohibit the entry of Boston harbor, to any ships bearing a flag of truce, and declaring they are sent for the express purpose of conveying to Great Britain any part of the troops of the Convention.

(Signed)

J. BURGOYNE.

Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

To which Gen. Heath wrote the following answer:

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, Jan. 5, 1778.

SIR,

“Your Excellency’s favor of yesterday came duly to hand; and I must confess I was not a little surprised at some expressions in it.

“As by the Convention, transports only are stipulated to receive the troops, I submit to you, Sir, whether a hint (if



you were even sure that it came from myself) that you should take a convenient one, rather than introduce a frigate, which is neither expressed or implied in the Convention, merits those epithets which you are pleased to bestow on me.

“ I have ever aimed to treat you with politeness ; and the plighted faith and honor of my country require me to pay strict attention to the Convention on their part : of course, when transports arrive to receive the troops, they will enter the harbor ; and if you can find by the Convention that a frigate is to enter for the particular reception of yourself, she will not be prohibited. But if it is rather uncommon for ships of war, to bear flags of truce, and if consenting to it in the present case, should appear to be rather an act of politeness and generosity than otherwise, I leave you to your own reflections whether you have made choice of the most happy expressions to obtain it.

(Signed)

W. HEATH.

Lieut. Gen. BURGOYNE.”

Another serious matter took place about this time ; Col. Henley, who had the immediate command at Cambridge, a brave and good officer, but warm and quick in his natural temper, having ordered some prisoners who were under guard turned out, that he might examine them, one of them treated him, as he judged, with much insolence ; upon which he pricked him with a sword, or bayonet. General Burgoyne immediately presented a complaint against Col. Henley, charging him with barbarous and wanton conduct, and intentional murder, as appears in the following letter.

CAMBRIDGE, *Jan. 9th, 1778.*

“ SIR,

“ A report has been made to me of a disturbance that happened at the barracks on Wednesday<sup>s</sup> afternoon, for which I am much concerned ; and though the provocations from your people, which originally occasioned it, were of the most atrocious nature, I was willing the offender on our part should be properly punished. But Colonel Henley, not content with that, made prisoners of eighteen innocent men, and sent them on board a guard-ship, as alleged by your order. It is not only a duty to my situation to demand the immediate discharge of these men, together with a satisfactory apology ; but I also mean it as an attention to you,

Sir, that I give you an immediate opportunity to disavow so unjustifiable a proceeding, as committing men to the worst of prisons upon vague report, caprice and passion.

(Signed) I am, &c. J. BURGOYNE."

To which our general returned the following answer :  
HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, *Jan. 10th, 1778.*

" SIR,

" Your's, of yesterday's date, I received the last evening. What provocations you allude to, as having been offered by my troops, I am at loss to determine. The insults and abuses which they have received, I will venture to say, unless I have been most grossly misinformed, are unparalleled ; and whether you are willing or unwilling, Sir, offenders shall no longer pass with impunity.

" If it can be made to appear, that if any of those soldiers sent to the guard-ship by my orders, are innocent, they shall be released from their confinement : but with respect to such as have been guilty of violating my standing orders of the garrison, instead of disavowing or making any apology for the confinement of such, be assured that I do most explicitly avow it. And as I have before observed to your Excellency in a former letter, of which you may be assured, I shall at all times endeavor to found my orders on the principles of honor, reason and justice, and not to infringe those delicate principles in others : so also be assured, Sir, that such my orders shall be obeyed by every officer and soldier placed under my direction ; and such as have the hardness to transgress them, shall abide the consequences.

(Signed) I am &c. W. HEATH.

June 7th, 1778, a British officer was shot by an American sentinel, the officer attempting to pass contrary to the standing orders. The sentinel was immediately relieved and put under guard, to await a legal trial. Upon receiving an official account, Gen. Heath immediately informed Major-General Phillips, who was now the senior British officer, Burgoyne having sailed for England, of the circumstance, and of his determination to give the offender a fair trial.

A few minutes after General Heath had sent his letter, he received the following from General Phillips :—

*Cambridge, June 17, 1778.*

" Murder and death has at length taken place. An officer, riding out from the barracks on Prospect Hill, has

been shot by an American sentinel. I leave the horrors incident to that bloody disposition, which has joined itself to rebellion in these colonies, to the feelings of all Europe. I do not ask for justice, for I believe every principle of it is fled from this province.

"I demand liberty to send an officer to Sir Henry Clinton, by way of the Head quarters of Gen. Washington, with my report of this murder.

(Signed) W. PHILLIPS, M. G.

"Maj. Gen. HEATH."

The next morning our General wrote the following to General Phillips :—

"HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, *June 18, 1778.*

"SIR—Were it even certain that the shooting of the officer was an act of the most deliberate wilful murder, why should you charge these free independent states with a bloody disposition and with rebellion, and this state in particular as void of every principle of justice? Although I ever had, and still have, a personal regard for you, and wish in every respect to treat you with the utmost generosity; yet that duty which I owe to the honor and dignity of the United States, will not allow me to pass unnoticed such expressions as are contained in your letter; and I cannot put any other interpretation upon them, than that they are a violent infraction of your parole, most sacredly given. I do conceive it to be my duty, and I do hereby restrict you to the limits of your house, gardens and yard, and to the direct road from your quarters to the quarters of the troops of the Convention, on Prospect and Winter Hills; expecting from you a parole, for propriety of conduct within those limits; which, if you refuse, I shall be under the necessity of ordering you to narrower limits, until I can obtain the pleasure of the honourable the congress, touching this matter, to whom I shall transmit your letter, and crave their directions.

I am, Sir, your obedient serv't.

(Signed) W. HEATH, Maj. Gen.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, *June 18, 1778.*

"SIR—You will immediately repair to Cambridge, and wait upon Maj. Gen. Phillips: present him the letter addressed to him. After he has read the letter, present the parole; if he signs it, well; if he refuses, you will please to inform him, that in consequence of the indecent, dishonourable,



and highly insulting expressions in his letter of yesterday, against the honor and dignity of the free, sovereign, and independent states of America, and in prejudice of the measures and proceedings of the honorable the congress—as it is my duty, so it is my express orders, that he, the said Maj. Gen. Phillips, be restricted to the limits of his house, yards and gardens, beyond which he is not to pass, until it be otherwise ordered; and that you immediately plant and continue by relief so many sentries, as may be necessary to prevent his exceeding those limits. You will give orders that the sentries, so planted, observe a strict decorum and soldier-like behaviour, avoiding insult, and behaving with becoming dignity. After which, you will wait on the next senior officer, and acquaint him of Gen. Phillips being confined.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) W. HEATH, Maj. Gen.

Lieut. Col. POLLARD, D. A. G.”

Gen. Phillips continuing to exhibit the same temper, or it rather growing upon him, he was continued in his arrest, until the troops of the convention were ordered to be removed to Charlottesville, in Virginia, when Gen. Heath was relieved altogether of his troublesome guests.

“In June, 1779, Gen. Heath was elected by Congress a commissioner of the Board of War, with a salary of 4000 dollars per annum, and allowed to retain his rank in the army, which he declined, preferring to participate in active operations in the field.

In the summer of 1780, he was directed, by the commander in chief, to repair to Rhode-Island, to make arrangements for the reception of the French fleet and army, which were expected soon to arrive. In his interview with the Count Rochambeau, and other officers of the French army and navy, he proffered his friendly civilities, and contributed all in his power to their comfortable accommodation, which was productive of a mutual and lasting friendship between them. Indefatigable attention to duty, in the various stations assigned him, was a prominent trait in his character. In May, 1781, Gen. Heath was directed, by the commander in chief, to repair to the New-England states, to represent to their respective executives the distressing condition of our army, and to solicit a speedy supply of provisions and clothing, in which he was successful. As senior major-general, he was

more than once commander of the right wing of our army, and during the absence of the commander in chief, at the siege of Yorktown, he was entrusted with the command of the main army, posted at the Highlands and vicinity, to guard the important works on the Hudson. On the 24th of June, 1784, hostilities having ceased between the two armies, Gen. Washington addressed a letter to Gen. Heath, expressing his thanks for his meritorious services, and his great affection and esteem, and on the same day they took their final leave.

Such was General Heath's public life. His private one was retired and domestic, amiable, orderly and industrious, but not remarkable for hospitality, or a liberal appropriation of property to public purposes. He died at Roxbury, January 24th, aged 77 years.\*

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### HENRY KNOX,

Major General in the American Army.

FOR the biography of this distinguished soldier of the revolution, and also for that of Gen. Lincoln, which follows, we are indebted to the highly interesting work of James Thacher, M. D. entitled "Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War," from which we have extracted them.

"Among those of our countrymen, who most zealously engaged in the cause of liberty, few sustained a rank more deservedly conspicuous, than Gen. Knox. He was one of those heroes, of whom it may be truly said, that he lived for his country.

Born in Boston, July, 1750, his childhood and youth were employed in obtaining the best education, that the justly celebrated schools of his native town afforded. In very early life he opened a book-store, for the enlargement of which he soon formed an extensive correspondence in Europe—but little time elapsed before, at the call of his country, he relinquished this lucrative and increasing business. Indebted to no adventitious aid, his character was formed by himself; the native and vigorous principles of his own mind made him what he was. Distinguished among his as-

\*Thacher's Military Journal.

sociates, from the first dawn of manhood, for a decided predilection to martial exercises, he was at the age of eighteen, selected by the young men of Boston as one of the officers of a company of grenadiers—a company so distinguished for its martial appearance, and the precision of its evolutions, that it received the most flattering encomium, from a British officer of high distinction.

This early scene of his military labors, served but as a school for that distinguished talent which afterwards shone with lustre, in the most brilliant campaigns of an eight years war ; through the whole of which, he directed the artillery with consummate skill and bravery.

His heart was deeply engaged in the cause of freedom ; he felt it to be a righteous cause, and to its accomplishment yielded every other consideration. When Britain declared hostilities, he hesitated not a moment, what course he should pursue. No sordid calculation of interest retarded his decision. The quiet of domestic life, the fair prospect of increasing wealth, and even the endearing claims of family and friends, though urged with the most persuasive eloquence, had no power to divert the determined purpose of his mind.

In the early stages of British hostility, though not in commission, he was not an inactive spectator. At the battle of Bunker-hill, as a volunteer, he was constantly exposed to danger, in reconnoitering the movements of the enemy, and his ardent mind was engaged with others in preparing those measures that were ultimately to dislodge the British troops, from their boasted possession of the capital of New-England.

Scarcely had we began to feel the aggressions of the British arms, before it was perceived, that without artillery, of which we were then destitute, the most important objects of the war could not be accomplished. No resource presented itself, but the desperate expedient of procuring it from the Canadian frontier. To attempt this, in the agitated state of the country, through a wide extent of wilderness, was an enterprize so replete with toil and danger, that it was hardly expected any one would be found hardy enough to encounter its perils. Knox, however, saw the importance of the object—he saw his country bleeding at every pore, without the power of repelling her invaders—he saw the flourishing Capital of the North in the possession of an exulting enemy, that we were destitute of the



means essential to their annoyance, and formed the daring and generous resolution of supplying the army with ordnance, however formidable the obstacles that might oppose him. Young, robust and vigorous, supported by an undaunted spirit, and a mind ever fruitful in resources, he commenced his mighty undertaking, almost unattended, in the winter of 1775, relying solely for the execution of his object, on such aid as he might procure, from the thinly scattered inhabitants of the dreary region, through which he had to pass. Every obstacle of season, roads and climate were surmounted by determined perseverance ;—and a few weeks, scarcely sufficient for a journey so remote, saw him return laden with ordnance and the stores of war—drawn in defiance of every obstacle over the frozen lakes and mountains of the north. Most acceptable was this offering to our defenceless troops, and most welcome to the Commander in Chief, who well knew how to appreciate a service so important. This expedition stamped the character of him who performed it for deeds of enterprise and daring. He received the most flattering testimony of approbation from the Commander in Chief and from Congress, and was in consequence of this important service appointed to the command of the artillery, of which he had thus laid the foundation,—in which command he continued with increasing reputation through the revolutionary war.

Among the incidents that occurred during the expedition to Canada, was his accidental meeting with the unfortunate Andre, whose subsequent fate was so deeply deplored by every man of feeling in both nations. His deportment as a soldier and gentleman so far interested General Knox in his favor, that he often afterward expressed the most sincere regret, that he was called by duty, to act on the tribunal that pronounced his condemnation.

During the continuance of the war, the corps of artillery was principally employed with the main body of the army, and near the person of the Commander in Chief, and was relied on as an essential auxiliary in the most important battles.

Trenton and Princeton witnessed his enterprise and valor. At that critical period of our affairs, when hope had almost yielded to despair, and the great soul of Washington, trembled for his country's freedom, Knox was one of those that strengthened his hand, and encouraged his heart. At that awful moment, when the tempest raged with its great-

est fury, he with Greene and other heroes, stood as pillars of the Temple of Liberty, till the fury of the storm was past.

The letters of General Knox, still extant, written in the darkest periods of the revolution, breathe a spirit of devotedness to the cause in which he had embarked, and a firm reliance on the favor of Divine Providence ; from a perusal of these letters it is evident, that he never yielded to despondency, but in the most critical moments of the war, confidently anticipated its triumphant issue.

In the bloody fields of Germantown and Monmouth, without derogating from the merits of others, it may be said, that during the whole of these hard fought battles, no officer was more distinguished for the discharge of the arduous duties of his command ;—in the front of the battle, he was seen animating his soldiers and pointing the thunder of their cannon. His skill and bravery were so conspicuous on the latter occasion, that he received the particular approbation of the Commander in Chief, in general orders issued by him the day succeeding that of the battle, in which he says, that “the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge, that no artillery could be better served than ours.” But his great exertions on that occasion, together with the extreme heat of the day, produced the most alarming consequences to his health. To these more important scenes, his services were not confined ; with a zeal devoted to our cause, he was ever at the post of danger—and the immortal hero, who stands first on the list of heroes and of men, has often expressed his sense of these services. In every field of battle, where Washington fought, Knox was by his side. The confidence of the Commander in Chief inspired by early services, was thus matured by succeeding events. There can be no higher testimony to his merits, than that during a war of so long continuance, past almost constantly in the presence of Washington, he uniformly retained his confidence and esteem, which at their separation had ripened into friendship and affection. The parting interview between General Knox and his illustrious and beloved chief, after the evacuation of New York by the British, and Knox had taken possession of it at the head of a detachment of our army, was inexpressibly affecting. The hour of their separation having arrived, Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand and embraced him in silence, and in tears. His letters to the last moment of his

life, contain the most flattering expressions of his unabated friendship. Honorable to himself as had been the career of his revolutionary services, new laurels were reserved for him at the siege of Yorktown. To the successful result of this memorable siege, the last brilliant act of our revolutionary contest, no officer contributed more essentially than the commander of the artillery. His animated exertions, his military skill, his cool and determined bravery in this triumphant struggle, received the unanimous approbation of his brethren in arms, and he was immediately created major general by Congress, at the recommendation of the Commander in Chief, with the concurrence of the whole army.

The capture of Lord Cornwallis closed the contest, and with it his military life. Having contributed so essentially to the successful termination of the war, he was selected as one of the commissioners to adjust the terms of peace, which service he performed in conjunction with his colleagues, much to the satisfaction of his country. He was deputed to receive the surrender of the city of New York, and soon after appointed to the command of West Point.—It was here that he was employed in the delicate and arduous duty of disbanding the army, and inducing a soldiery, disposed to turbulence by their privations and sufferings, to retire to domestic life, and resume the peaceful character of citizens.

It is a fact most honorable to his character, that by his countenance and support, he rendered the most essential aid to Washington, in suppressing that spirit of usurpation which had been industriously fomented by a few unprincipled and aspiring men, whose aim was the subjugation of the country to a military government. No hope of political elevation—no flattering assurances of aggrandizement could tempt him to build his greatness on the ruin of his country.

The great objects of the war being accomplished, and peace restored to our country, General Knox was early, under the confederation, appointed secretary of war by Congress, in which office he was confirmed by President Washington, after the establishment of the Federal Government. The duties of this office were ultimately increased, by having those of the navy attached to them—to the establishment of which his counsel and exertions eminently contributed. He differed in opinion from some other



members of the cabinet on this most interesting subject.\* One of the greatest men whom our country has produced, has uniformly declared, that he considered America much indebted to his efforts, for the creation of a power which has already so essentially advanced her respectability and fame.

Having filled the office of the War Department for eleven years, he obtained the reluctant consent of President Washington to retire, that he might give his attention to the claims of a numerous and increasing family. This retirement was in concurrence with the wishes of Mrs. Knox, who had accompanied him through the trying vicissitudes of war, shared with him its toils and perils, and who was now desirous of enjoying the less busy scenes of domestic life.— A portion of the large estates of her ancestor, General Waldo, had descended to her, which he by subsequent purchase increased till it comprised the whole Waldo Patent, an extent of thirty miles square, and embracing a considerable part of that section of Maine, which now constitutes the counties of Lincoln, Hancock and Penobscot. To these estates he retired from all concern in public life, honored as a soldier and beloved as a man, devoting much of his time to their settlement and improvement. He was induced repeatedly to take a share in the government of the state, both in the house of representatives and in the council, in the discharge of whose several duties, he employed his wisdom and experience with the greatest assiduity.

In 1793, when the French insults and injuries towards this country called for resistance, he was one of those selected to command our armies, and to protect our liberty and honor, from the expected hostilities of the French Directory: happily for our country their services were not required.

Retired from the theatre of active life, he still felt a deep interest in the prosperity of his country. To that portion of it, which he had chosen for his residence, his exertions were more immediately directed. His views like his soul, were bold and magnificent; his ardent mind could not wait the ordinary course of time and events; it outstripped the progress of natural improvement. Had he possessed a cold, calculating mind, he might have left behind him the most ample wealth; but he would not have been more

\* President Adams.

highly valued by his country, or more beloved by his friends. He died, at Montpelier, his seat in Thomaston, 25th of October, 1806, from sudden internal inflammation, at the age of 56, from the full vigor of health.

The great qualities of Gen. Knox, were not merely those of the hero and the statesman; with these were combined those of the elegant scholar, and the accomplished gentleman. There have been some as brave and as learned, but rarely a union of such valor, with so much urbanity—a mind so great, yet so free from ostentation.

Philanthropy filled his heart; in his benevolence there was no reserve—it was as diffusive as the globe, and extensive as the family of man. His feelings were strong and exquisitely tender. In the domestic circle they shone with peculiar lustre—here, the husband, the father and the friend, beamed in every smile—and if at any time a cloud overshadowed his own spirit, he strove to prevent its influence from extending to those who were dear to him. He was frank, generous and sincere, and in his intercourse with the world, uniformly just. His house was the seat of elegant hospitality, and his estimate of wealth, was its power of diffusing happiness. To the testimony of private friendship, may be added that of less partial strangers, who have borne witness, both to his public and private virtues. Lord Moira, who is now perhaps the greatest general that England can boast of, has in a late publication spoken in high terms of his military talents. Nor should the opinion of the Marquis Châtelleux be omitted. “As for Gen. Knox,” he says, “to praise him for his military talents alone, would be to deprive him of half the eulogium he merits; a man of understanding, well informed, gay, sincere and honest—it is impossible to know without esteeming him, or to see without loving him,—thus have the English without intention, added to the ornaments of the human species, by awakening talents where they least wished or expected.” Judge Marshall also, in his life of Washington, thus speaks of him, “throughout the contest of the revolution, this officer had continued at the head of the American artillery, and from being colonel of a regiment, had been promoted to the rank of major general. In this important station he had preserved a high military character, and on the resignation of Gen. Lincoln, had been appointed secretary of war. To his great services, and to unquestionable integrity, he was admitted to unite a sound understanding; and the public judgment,

as well as that of the chief magistrate, pronounced him in all respects competent to the station he filled. The president was highly gratified in believing that his public duty comported with his private inclination, in nominating General Knox to the office which had been conferred on him under the former government."

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## **BENJAMIN LINCOLN,**

Major-General in the American Army.

"GENERAL LINCOLN deserves a high rank in the fraternity of American heroes. He was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, January 23d, O. S. 1733. His early education was not auspicious to his future eminence, and his vocation was that of a farmer, till he was more than forty years of age, though he was commissioned as a magistrate, and elected a representative in the state legislature. In the year 1775, he sustained the office of lieutenant colonel of militia. In 1776 he was appointed by the counsel of Massachusetts a brigadier, and soon after a major general, and he applied himself assiduously to training, and preparing the militia for actual service in the field, in which he displayed the military talent which he possessed. In October, he marched with a body of militia and joined the main army at New-York. The commander in chief, from a knowledge of his character and merit, recommended him to congress as an excellent officer, and in February, 1777, he was by that honorable body, created a major general on the continental establishment. For several months he commanded a division, or detachments in the main army, under Washington, and was in situations which required the exercise of the utmost vigilance and caution, as well as firmness and courage. Having the command of about five hundred men in an exposed situation near Bound Brook, through the neglect of his patrols, a large body of the enemy approached within two hundred yards of his quarters undiscovered; the general had scarcely time to mount and leave the house before it was surrounded. He led off his troops however, in the face of the enemy, and made good his retreat, though with the loss of about sixty men killed and wounded. One of his aids, with the general's baggage and papers, fell into the hands of the enemy, as



did also three small pieces of artillery. In July, 1777, General Washington selected him to join the northern army under the command of General Gates, to oppose the advance of General Burgoyne. He took his station at Manchester, in Vermont, to receive and form the New-England militia, as they arrived, and to order their march to the rear of the British army. He detached Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, on the 13th of September, to the landing at Lake George, where he succeeded in surprising the enemy, and took possession of two hundred batteaux, liberated one hundred American prisoners, and captured two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy, with the loss of only three killed and five wounded. This enterprise was of the highest importance, and contributed essentially to the glorious event which followed. Having detached two other parties to the enemy's posts at Mount Independence and Skenesborough, General Lincoln united his remaining force with the army under General Gates, and was the second in command. During the sanguinary conflict on the 7th of October, General Lincoln commanded within our lines, and at one o'clock the next morning, he marched with his division to relieve the troops that had been engaged, and to occupy the battle ground, the enemy having retreated. While on this duty he had occasion to ride forward some distance, to reconnoitre, and to order some disposition of his own troops, when a party of the enemy made an unexpected movement, and he approached within musket shot before he was aware of his mistake. A whole volley of musketry was instantly discharged at him and his aids, and he received a wound by which the bones of his leg were badly fractured, and he was obliged to be carried off the field. The wound was a formidable one, and the loss of his limb was for some time apprehended. He was for several months confined at Albany, and it became necessary to remove a considerable portion of the main bone before he was conveyed to his house at Hingham, and under this painful surgical operation, the writer of this being present, witnessed in him a degree of firmness and patience not to be exceeded. 'I have known him,' says Colonel Rice, who was a member of his military family, 'during the most painful operation by the surgeon, while bystanders were frequently obliged to leave the room, entertain us with some pleasant anecdote, or story, and draw forth a smile from his friends.' His wound continued several years in an ulcerated state, and by the loss of the bone

the limb was shortened, which occasioned lameness during the remainder of his life.

General Lincoln certainly afforded very important assistance in the capture of Burgoyne, though it was his unfortunate lot, while in active duty, to be disabled before he could participate in the capitulation. Though his recovery was not complete, he repaired to head-quarters in the following August, and was joyfully received by the commander in chief, who well knew how to appreciate his merit. It was from a developement of his estimable character as a man, and his talent as a military commander, that he was designated by congress for the arduous duties of the chief command in the southern department, under innumerable embarrassments. On his arrival at Charleston, December, 1778, he found that he had to form an army, to provide supplies, and to arrange the various departments, that he might be able to cope with an enemy consisting of experienced officers and veteran troops. This, it is obvious, required a man of superior powers, indefatigable perseverance, and unconquerable energy. Had not these been his inherent qualities, Lincoln must have yielded to the formidable obstacles which opposed his progress. About the 28th of December, General Prevost arrived with a fleet, and about three thousand British troops, and took possession of Savannah, after routing a small party of Americans, under General Robert Howe. General Lincoln, immediately put his troops in motion, and took post on the eastern side of the river, about twenty miles from the city; but he was not in force to commence offensive operations, till the last of February. In April, with the view of covering the upper part of Georgia, he marched to Augusta, after which Prevost, the British commander, crossed the river into Carolina and marched for Charleston. General Lincoln, therefore, recrossed the Savannah, and followed his route, and on his arrival near the city, the enemy had retired from before it during the previous night. A detachment of the enemy, supposed to be about six hundred men, under Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, being posted at Stone Ferry, where they had erected works for their defence, General Lincoln resolved to attack them, which he did on the 9th of June. The contest lasted one hour and twenty minutes, in which he lost one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded, and the enemy suffered about an equal loss. Their works were found to be much stronger than had been represented, and

our artillery proving too light to annoy them, and the enemy receiving a reinforcement, our troops were obliged to retire.

The next event of importance which occurred with our general, was the bold assault on Savannah, in conjunction with the Count D'Estaing. General Prevost had again possessed himself of that city, and Count D'Estaing, arrived with his fleet and armament in the beginning of September, 1779. Having landed nearly three thousand French troops, General Lincoln immediately united about one thousand men to his force. The prospect of success was highly flattering, but the enemy exerted all their efforts in strengthening their lines, and after the count had summoned the garrison, and while Prevost was about to arrange articles of capitulation, he received a reinforcement. It was now resolved to attempt the place by a regular siege, but various causes occasioned a delay of several days, and when it commenced, the cannonade and bombardment failed of producing the desired effect, and the short time allowed the count on our coast, was quite insufficient for reducing the garrison by regular approaches. The commanders concluded therefore, to make an effort on the works by assault. On the 9th of October, in the morning, the troops were led on by D'Estaing, and Lincoln, united, while a column led by Count Dillon missed their route in the darkness, and failed of the intended co-operation. Amidst a most appalling fire of the covered enemy, the allied troops forced the abbatis, and planted two standards on the parapets. But being overpowered at the point of attack, they were compelled to retire; the French having seven hundred, the Americans two hundred and forty killed and wounded. The Count Pulaski, at the head of a body of our horse, was mortally wounded.

General Lincoln next repaired to Charleston, and endeavored to put that city in a posture of defence, urgently requesting of congress a reinforcement of regular troops, and additional supplies, which were but partially complied with. In February, 1780, General Sir Henry Clinton arrived, and landed a formidable force in the vicinity, and on the 30th of March encamped in front of the American lines at Charleston. Considering the vast superiority of the enemy, both in sea and land forces, it might be questioned whether prudence and correct judgment, would dictate an attempt to defend the city; it will not be supposed however,



that the determination was formed without the most mature deliberation, and for reasons perfectly justifiable. It is well known that the general was in continual expectation of an augmentation of strength by reinforcements. On the 10th of April, the enemy having made some advances, summoned the garrison to an unconditional surrender, which was promptly refused. A heavy and incessant cannonade was sustained on each side, till the 11th of May, when the besiegers had completed their third parallel line, and having made a second demand of surrender, a capitulation was agreed on.

It is to be lamented that, with all the judicious and vigorous efforts in his power, General Lincoln was requited only by the frowns of fortune, whereas had he been successful in his bold enterprise and views, he would have been crowned with unfading laurels. But notwithstanding a series of disappointments and unfortunate occurrences, he was censured by no one, nor was his judgment or merit called in question. He retained his popularity, and the confidence of the army, and was considered as a most zealous patriot, and the bravest of soldiers.

In the campaign of 1781, General Lincoln commanded a division under Washington, and at the siege of Yorktown he had his full share of the honor of that brilliant and auspicious event. The articles of capitulation stipulated for the same honor in favor of the surrendering army, as had been granted to the garrison of Charleston. General Lincoln was appointed to conduct them to the field where their arms were deposited and received the customary submission. In the general order of the commander in chief the day after the capitulation, General Lincoln was among the general officers whose services were particularly mentioned. In October, 1781, he was chosen by congress secretary of war, retaining his rank in the army. In this office he continued till October, 1783, when his proffered resignation was accepted by congress.

Having relinquished the duties and cares of a public employment, he retired and devoted his attention to his farm; but in 1784, he was chosen one of the commissioners and agents on the part of the state to make and execute a treaty with the Penobscot Indians. When in the year 1786—7, the authority of our state government was in a manner prostrated, and the country alarmed by a most audacious spirit of insurrection, under the guidance of Shays and Day,

General Lincoln was appointed by the governor and council, to command a detachment of militia, consisting of four or five thousand men, to oppose their progress, and compel them to a submission to the laws. He marched from Boston on the 20th of January, into the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where the insurgents had erected their standard. They were embodied in considerable force, and manifested a determined resistance, and a slight skirmish ensued between them and a party of militia under General Shepherd. Lincoln however, conducted with such address and energy, that the insurgents were routed from one town to another, till they were completely dispersed in all directions; and by his wise and prudent measures the insurrection was happily suppressed without bloodshed, excepting a few individuals who were slain under Gen. Shepherd's command.

He was a member of the convention for ratifying the federal constitution, and in the summer of 1789, he received from President Washington the appointment of collector of the port of Boston, which office he sustained till being admonished by the increasing infirmities of age, he requested permission to resign.

Having after his resignation of the office of collector passed about two years in retirement, and in tranquillity of mind, but experiencing the feebleness of age, he received a short attack of disease by which his honorable life was terminated on the 9th of May, 1810, aged 77 years.

The following tribute is on the records of the society of Cincinnati. "At the annual meeting in July, 1810, Major General John Brooks was chosen president of the society, to supply the place of our venerable and much lamented president, General Benjamin Lincoln, who had presided over the society from the organization thereof, in 1783, to the 9th of May, 1810, the day of his decease, with the entire approbation of every member, and the grateful tribute of his surviving comrades, for his happy guidance and affectionate attentions during so long a period."

While at Purysburgh, on the Savannah River, a soldier named Fickling, having been detected in frequent attempts to desert, was tried and sentenced to be hanged. The general ordered the execution. The rope broke; a second was procured which broke also; the case was reported to the general for directions. "Let him run," said the general, "I thought he looked like a scape-gallows."

Major Garden, in his *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, relates this story with some addition. It happened that, as Fickling was led to execution, the surgeon-general of the army passed accidentally, on his way to his quarters, which were at some distance. When the second rope was procured, the adjutant of the regiment, a stout and heavy man, assayed by every means to break it, but without effect. Fickling was then haltered, and again turned off, when, to the astonishment of the bystanders, the rope untwisted, and he fell a second time uninjured to the ground. A cry for mercy was now general throughout the ranks, which occasioned Major Ladson, aid-de-camp to General Lincoln, to gallop to head-quarters, to make a representation of facts, which were no sooner stated, than an immediate pardon was granted, accompanied with an order that he should instantaneously be drummed, with every mark of infamy, out of camp, and threatened with instant death if he ever should be found attempting to approach it. In the interim, the surgeon-general had established himself at his quarters, in a distant barn, little doubting but that the catastrophe was at an end, and Fickling quietly resting in his grave. Midnight was at hand, and he was busily engaged in writing, when, hearing the approach of a footstep, he raised his eyes, and saw with astonishment the figure of the man, who had in his opinion been executed, slowly and with haggard countenance, approaching towards him. "How! how is this?" exclaimed the doctor, "whence come you? what do you want with me? were you not hanged this morning?" "Yes, sir," replied the resuscitated man, "I am the wretch you saw going to the gallows, and who was hanged." "Keep your distance," said the doctor, "approach me not, till you say why you came here." "Simply, sir," said the supposed spectre, "to solicit food. I am no ghost, doctor. The rope broke twice, while the executioner was doing his office, and the general thought proper to pardon me." "If that be the case," rejoined the doctor, "eat and be welcome; but I beg of you in future to have a little more consideration, and not intrude so unceremoniously into the apartment of one, who had every right to suppose you an inhabitant of the tomb."\*

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\* Thacher's Military Journal.



**CHARLES LEE,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. LEE was an original genius, possessing the most brilliant talents, great military prowess, and extensive intelligence and knowledge of the world. He was born in Wales, his family springing from the same parent stock with the Earl of Leicester.

He may be properly called a child of Mars, for he was an officer when but eleven years old. His favorite study was the science of war, and his warmest wish was to become distinguished in it; but though possessed of a military spirit, he was ardent in the pursuit of general knowledge. He acquired a competent skill in Greek and Latin, while his fondness for travelling made him acquainted with the Italian, Spanish, German and French languages.

In 1756, he came to America, captain of a company of grenadiers, and was present at the defeat of Gen. Abercrombie, at Ticonderoga, where he received a severe wound. In 1762, he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal, where he greatly distinguished himself, and received the strongest recommendations for his gallantry; but his early attachment to the American colonies, evinced in his writings against the oppressive acts of parliament, lost him the favor of the ministry. Despairing of promotion, and despising a life of inactivity, he left his native soil and entered into the service of his Polish majesty, as one of his aids, with the rank of major-general.

His rambling disposition led him to travel all over Europe, during the years of 1771, 1772 and part of 1773, and his warmth of temper drew him into several rencounters, among which was an affair of honor with an officer in Italy. The contest was begun with swords, when the general lost two of his fingers. Recourse was then had to pistols. His adversary was slain, and he was obliged to flee from the country, in order that he might avoid the unpleasant circumstances which might result from this unhappy circumstance.

Gen. Lee appeared to be influenced by an innate principle of republicanism; an attachment to these principles was implanted in the constitution of his mind, and he espoused the cause of America as a champion of her emancipation from oppression.

Glowing with these sentiments, he embarked for this

country, and arrived at New-York, on the 10th of November 1773. On his arrival, he became daily more enthusiastic in the cause of liberty, and travelled rapidly through the colonies, animating, both by conversation and his eloquent pen, to a determined and persevering resistance to British tyranny.

His enthusiasm in favor of the rights of the colonies was such, that, after the battle of Lexington, he accepted a major-general's commission in the American army ; though his ambition had pointed out to him the post of commander in chief, as the object of his wishes. Previous to this, however, he resigned his commission in the British service, and relinquished his half pay. This he did in a letter to the British secretary at war, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the oppressive measures of parliament, declaring them to be so absolutely subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject, so destructive to the whole empire at large, and ultimately, so ruinous to his majesty's own person, dignity and family, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, as a citizen, Englishman, and a soldier of a free state, to exert his utmost to defeat them."

Immediately upon receiving his appointment, he accompanied General Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived July 2d, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect.

As soon as it was discovered at Cambridge that the British General Clinton had left Boston, General Lee was ordered to set forward, to observe his manœuvres, and prepare to meet him in any part of the continent he might visit. No man was better qualified, at this early stage of the war, to penetrate the designs of the enemy, than Lee. Nursed in the camp, and well versed in European tactics, the soldiers believed him, of all other officers, the best able to face in the field an experienced British veteran, and lead them on to victory.

New-York was supposed to be the object of the enemy, and hither he hastened with all possible expedition. Immediately, on his arrival, Lee took the most active and prompt measures, to put it in a state of defence. He disarmed all suspected persons, within the reach of his command, and proceeded with such rigor against the tories, as to give alarm at his assumption of military powers. From the tories he exacted a strong oath, and his bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared.

Not long after, he was appointed to the command of the southern department, and in his travels through the country, he received every testimony of high respect from the people. General Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Peter Parker, with a powerful fleet and army, attempted the reduction of Charleston, while he was in command. The fleet anchored within half musket shot of the fort on Sullivan's Island; where Colonel Moultrie, one of the bravest and most intrepid of men, commanded. A tremendous engagement ensued on the 28th of June, 1776, which lasted twelve hours without intermission. The whole British force was completely repulsed, after suffering an irreparable loss.

Gen. Lee and Col. Moultrie received the thanks of Congress for their signal bravery and gallantry.

Our hero had now reached the pinnacle of his military glory; the eclat of his name alone appeared to enchant and animate the most desponding heart. But here we pause to contemplate the humiliating reverse of human events. He returned to the main army in October; and in marching at the head of a large detachment through the Jerseys, having, from a desire of retaining a separate command, delayed his march several days, in disobedience of express orders from the commander in chief, he was guilty of the most culpable negligence in regard to his personal security. He took up his quarters two or three miles from the main body, and lay for the night, December 13th, 1776, in a careless, exposed situation. Information of this being communicated to Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the British light-horse, he proceeded immediately to the house, fired into it, and obliged the general to surrender himself a prisoner. They mounted him on a horse in haste, without his cloak or hat, and conveyed him in triumph to New-York."\*

Lee was treated, while a prisoner, with great severity by the enemy, who affected to consider him as a state prisoner and deserter from the service of his Britanic majesty, and denied the privileges of an American officer. General Washington promptly retaliated the treatment received by Lee upon the British officers in his possession. This state of things existed until the capture of Burgoyne, when a complete change of treatment was observed towards Lee; and he was shortly afterwards exchanged.



The first military act of General Lee, after his exchange, closed his career in the American army. Previous to the battle of Monmouth, his character in general was respectable. From the beginning of the contest, his unremitted zeal in the cause of America excited and directed the military spirit of the whole continent; and his conversation inculcated the principles of liberty among all ranks of the people. His important services excited the warm gratitude of many of the friends of America. Hence it is said that a strong party was formed in Congress, and by some discontented officers in the army, to raise Lee to the first command: and it has been suggested by many, that General Lee's conduct at the battle of Monmouth was intended to effect this plan: for could the odium of the defeat have been at this time thrown on General Washington, there is great reason to suppose that he would have been deprived of his command.

It is now to be seen how General Lee terminated his military career. In the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, 1778, he commanded the van of the American troops, with orders from the commander in chief to attack the retreating enemy. Instead of obeying this order, he conducted in an unworthy manner, and greatly disconcerted the arrangements of the day. Washington, advancing to the field of battle, met him in his disorderly retreat, and accosted him with strong expressions of disapprobation. Lee, incapable of brooking even an implied indignity, and unable to restrain the warmth of his resentment, used improper language in return, and some irritation was excited on both sides. The following letters immediately after passed between Lee and the commander in chief.

*Camp, English Town, 1st July, 1778.*

SIR,

From the knowledge that I have of your Excellency's character, I must conclude that nothing but the misinformation of some very stupid, or misrepresentation of some very wicked person, could have occasioned your making use of such very singular expressions as you did, on my coming up to the ground where you had taken post: they implied that I was guilty either of disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. Your Excellency will, therefore infinitely oblige me, by letting me know on which of these

three articles you ground your charge, that I may prepare for my justification; which I have the happiness to be confident I can do, to the army, to the congress, to America, and to the world in general. Your Excellency must give me leave to observe, that neither yourself, nor those about your person, could, from your situation, be in the least judges of the merits or demerits of our manœuvres; and, to speak with a becoming pride, I can assert that to these manœuvres the success of the day was entirely owing. I can boldly say, that, had we remained on the first ground—or had we advanced—or had the retreat been conducted in a manner different from what it was, this whole army and the interests of America, would have risked being sacrificed. I ever had, and I hope, ever shall have, the greatest respect and veneration for General Washington; I think him endued with many great and good qualities: but in this instance I must pronounce, that he has been guilty of an act of cruel injustice towards a man, who had certainly some pretensions to the regard of every servant of his country; and I think, Sir, I have a right to demand some reparation for the injury committed; and unless I can obtain it, I must, in justice to myself, when the campaign is closed, which I believe will close the war, retire from a service, at the head of which is placed a man capable of offering such injuries;—but at the same time, in justice to you, I must repeat that I, from my soul, believe that it was not a motion of your own breast, but instigated by some of those dirty earwigs, who will for ever insinuate themselves near persons in high office; for I am really assured that, when General Washington acts from himself, no man in his army will have reason to complain of injustice and indecorum.

I am, sir, and I hope ever shall have reason to continue,  
Yours, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

*His Excellency Gen. Washington.*

*Head-Quarters, English-Town, 28th June, 1778.*

SIR,

I received your letter, dated through mistake the 1st of July, expressed, as I conceive, in terms highly improper. I am not conscious of having made use of any singular expressions at the time of my meeting you, as you intimate. What I recollect to have said was dictated by duty, and war-

ranted by the occasion. As soon as circumstances will admit, you shall have an opportunity, either of justifying yourself to the army, to congress, to America, and to the world in general, or of convincing them that you are guilty of a breach of orders, and of misbehavior before the enemy on the 28th instant in not attacking them as you had been directed, and in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

A court martial, of which Lord Stirling was president, was ordered for his trial, and after a masterly defence by Gen. Lee, found him guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from any command in the army for the term of twelve months. This sentence was shortly afterwards confirmed by congress.

When promulgated, it was like a mortal wound to the lofty aspiring spirit of General Lee ; pointing to his dog he exclaimed—"Oh that I was that animal that I might not call man my brother." He became outrageous, and from that moment he was more open and virulent in his attack on the character of the commander in chief, and did not cease in his unwearied endeavors both in his conversation and writings to lessen his reputation in the estimation of the army, and the public. He was an active abettor of General Conway in his calumny and abuse of General Washington, and they were believed to be in concert in their vile attempts to supersede his excellency in the supreme command. With the hope of affecting his nefarious purpose, he published a pamphlet replete with scurrilous imputations unfavorable to the military talents of the commander in chief, but this with his other malignant allegations were consigned to contempt.

At length Colonel Laurens, one of Gen. Washington's aids, unable longer to suffer this gross abuse of his illustrious friend demanded of Lee that satisfaction which custom has sanctioned as honorable. A recounter accordingly ensued, and Lee received a wound in his side.

Lee now finding himself abandoned by his friends, degraded in the eye of the public, and despised by the wise and virtuous, retired to his sequestered plantation in Virginia. In this spot, secluded from all society, he lived in a sort of hovel without glass windows or plastering, or even a decent ar-



ture of house furniture; here he amused himself with his books and dogs. On January 10th, 1780, congress resolved that Major-Gen. Lee be informed that they have no further occasion for his services in the army of the U. States. In the autumn of 1782, wearied with his forlorn situation, and broken spirit, he resorted to Philadelphia, and took lodgings in an ordinary tavern. He was soon seized with a disease of the lungs, and after a few days' confinement, he terminated his mortal course, a martyr to chagrin and disappointment, October 2d, 1782. The last words which he was heard to utter, were, "stand by me my brave grenadiers."

Gen. Lee was rather above the middle size, "plain in his person even to ugliness, and careless in his manners even to a degree of rudeness; his nose was so remarkably aquiline, that it appeared as a real deformity. His voice was rough, his garb ordinary, his deportment morose. He was ambitious of fame without the dignity to support it. In private life he sunk into the vulgarity of the clown." His remarkable partiality for dogs was such, that a number of these animals constantly followed in his train, and the ladies complained that he allowed his *canine adherents* to follow him into the parlor, and not frequently a favorite one might be seen on a chair next his elbow at table.

In the year 1776, when our army lay at White Plains, Lee resided near the road which General Washington frequently passed, and he one day with his aids called and took dinner: after they had departed Lee said to his aids, "you must look me out other quarters or I shall have Washington and his puppies calling till they eat me up." The next day he ordered his servant to write with chalk on the door, "no victuals cooked here to day." The company, seeing the hint on the door, passed with a smile at the oddity of the man. "The character of this person," says one who knew him well, "is full of absurdities and qualities of a most extraordinary nature."\*

While in Philadelphia, shortly before his death, the following ludicrous circumstance took place, which created no small diversion.

The late Judge Brackenridge, whose poignancy of satire and eccentricity of character was nearly a match for that of

the general, had dipped his pen in some gall, which greatly irritated Lee's feelings, inasmuch, that he challenged him to single combat; which Brackenridge declined in a very eccentric reply. Lee, having furnished himself with a horse-whip, determined to chastise him ignominiously on the very first opportunity. Observing Brackenridge going down Market-Street, a few days after, he gave him chase, and Brackenridge took refuge in a public house, and barricaded the door of the room he entered. A number of persons collected to see the result. Lee damned him, and invited him to come out and fight him like a man. Brackenridge replied, that he did not like to be shot at, and made some other curious observations, which only increased Lee's irritation and the mirth of the spectators. Lee, with the most bitter imprecation, ordered him to come out, when he said he would horse-whip him.—Brackenridge replied, that he had no occasion for a discipline of that kind. The amusing scene lasted some time, until at length Lee, finding that he could accomplish no other object than calling forth Brackenridge's wit for the amusement of the by-standers, retired.

General Lee was master of a most genteel address, but was rude in his manners, and excessively negligent in his appearance and behaviour. His appetite was so whimsical, that he was every where a most troublesome guest. Two or three dogs usually followed him wherever he went. As an officer, he was brave and able, and did much towards disciplining the American army. With vigorous powers of mind and brilliant fancy, he was a correct and elegant classical scholar, and he both wrote and spoke his native language with propriety, force and beauty. His temper was severe; the history of his life is little else than the history of disputes, quarrels and duels in every part of the world. He was vindictive, avaricious, immoral, impious and profane. His principles, as would be expected from his character, were most abandoned, and he ridiculed every tenet of religion.—Two virtues he possessed to an eminent degree, sincerity and veracity. It was notorious that General Lee was a man of unbounded personal ambition, and conscious of his European education, and pre-eminent military talents and powers, he affected a superiority over Gen. Washington, and constantly aimed at the supreme command, little scrupulous as to the means employed to accomplish his own advancement.

The following is an extract from Gen. Lee's will.—

"I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian, or Anā-baptist Meeting House, for since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company while living, that I do not choose to continue it while dead."

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### FRANCIS MARION,

Colonel in the American Army.

FRANCIS MARION, colonel in the regular service, and brigadier general in the militia of South-Carolina, was born in the vicinity of Georgetown, in the year 1733.

To pourtray the meteor-like course of hardihood and exploit, traced by Gen. Marion and his heroic followers, would constitute a picture, rich in admiration and delight, to the lovers of bravery and romantic adventure. Never was an officer better suited to the times in which he lived, and the situation in which it was his fortune to act. For stratagems, unlooked for enterprises against the enemy, and devices for concealing his own position and movements, he had no rival. Never, in a single instance, was he overtaken in his course, or discovered in his hiding place. Even some of his party, anxious for his safety, and well acquainted with many of the places of his retreat, have sought for him whole days in his immediate neighborhood, without finding him. Suddenly and unexpectedly, in some distant point he would again appear, pouncing upon his enemy like the eagle upon his prey. These high and rare qualities, conducted him repeatedly into the arms of victory, when the force he encountered was ten fold the number of that he commanded.

"Young Marion at the age of sixteen, entered on board a vessel bound to the West Indies, with a determination to fit himself for a seafaring life. On his outward passage, the vessel was upset in a gale of wind, when the crew took to their boat without water or provisions, it being impracticable to save any of either. A dog jumped into the boat with the crew, and upon his flesh, eaten raw, did the survivors of these unfortunate men subsist for seven or eight days; in which period several died of hunger.

Among the few who escaped was young Marion. After reaching land, Marion relinquished his original plan of life,



and engaged in the labors of agriculture. In this occupation he continued until 1759, when he became a soldier, and was appointed a lieutenant in a company of volunteers, raised for an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, commanded by Captain William Moultrie, (since General Moultrie.)

As soon as the war broke out between the colonies and the mother country, Marion was called to the command of a company in the first corps raised by the state of South-Carolina. He was soon afterwards promoted to a majority, and served in that rank under Colonel Moultrie, in his intrepid defence of Fort Moultrie, against the combined attack of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir H. Parker, on the 2d of June, 1776. He was afterwards placed at the head of a regiment, as lieutenant colonel commandant, in which capacity he served during the siege of Charleston; when having fractured his leg by some accident, he became incapable of military duty, and fortunately for his country, escaped the captivity to which the garrison was, in the sequel, forced to submit.

When Charleston fell into the enemy's hands, Lieutenant Colonel Marion abandoned his state, and took shelter in North Carolina. The moment he recovered from the fracture of his leg, he engaged in preparing the means of annoying the enemy, then in the flood-tide of prosperity. With sixteen men only, he crossed the Santee, and commenced that daring system of warfare which so much annoyed the British army.

Colonel Peter Horry, in his life of General Marion, gives the following interesting incident:—"About this time we received a flag from the enemy in Georgetown, South-Carolina, the object of which was to make some arrangements about the exchange of prisoners. The flag, after the usual ceremony of blindfolding, was conducted into Marion's encampment. Having heard *great talk* about General Marion, his fancy had naturally enough sketched out for him some stout figure of a warrior, such as O'Hara, or Cornwallis himself, of martial aspect and flaming regimentals. But what was his surprise, when led into Marion's presence, and the bandage taken from his eyes, he beheld in our hero, a swarthy smoke-dried little man, with scarcely enough of thread-bare homespun to cover his nakedness! and, instead of tall ranks of gay-dressed soldiers, a handful of sun-burnt, yellow-legged militia-men; some roasting potatoes, and some asleep, with their black fire-locks and powder-horns ly-

ing by them on the logs. Having recovered a little from his surprise, he presented his letter to General Marion, who perused it and soon settled every thing to his satisfaction.

The officer took up his hat to retire.

"Oh no!" said Marion, "it is now about our time of dining; and I hope sir, you will give us the pleasure of your company to dinner."

At the mention of the word *dinner*, the British officer looked around him, but to his great mortification, could see no sign of a pot, pan, Dutch-oven, or any other cooking utensil, that could raise the spirits of a hungry man.

"Well Tom," said the general to one of his men, "come, give us our dinner."

The dinner to which he alluded, was no other than a heap of sweet potatoes, that were very snugly roasting under the embers, and which Tom, with his pine stick poker, soon liberated from their ashy confinement; pinching them every now and then with his fingers, especially the big ones, to see whether they were well done or not. Then having cleansed them of the ashes, partly by blowing them with his breath, and partly by brushing them with the sleeve of his old cotton shirt, he piled some of the best on a large piece of bark, and placed them between the British officer and Marion, on the trunk of the fallen pine on which they sat.

"I fear, sir," said the general, "our dinner will not prove so palatable to you as I could wish; but it is the best we have."

The officer, who was a well bred man, took up one of the potatoes and affected to feed, as if he had found a great dainty; but it was very plain that he ate more from good manners than good appetite.

Presently he broke out in a hearty laugh.—Marion looked surprised. "I beg your pardon, general," said he, "but one cannot, you know, always command one's conceits. I was thinking how drolly some of my brother officers would look, if our government were to give them such a bill of fare as this."

"I suppose," replied Marion, "it is not equal to their style of dining."

"No, indeed," quoth the officer, "and this, I imagine, is one of your accidental *Lent* dinners. a sort of *ban-yan*. In general, no doubt, you live a great deal better."

"Rather worse," answered the general, "for often we don't get enough of this."

"Heavens!" rejoined the officer, "but probably what you lose in *meal* you make up in *malt*, though stinted in *provisions*, you draw noble *pay*."

"*Not a cent, sir,*" said Marion, "*not a cent.*"

"Heavens and earth! then you must be in a bad box. I don't see, general how you can stand it."

"Why, sir," replied Marion, with a smile of self-approbation, "these things depend on feeling."

The Englishman said, "he did not believe it would be an easy matter to reconcile *his feelings* to a soldier's life on general Marion's terms: *all fighting, no pay, and no provisions but potatoes.*"

'Why, sir,' answered the general, '*the heart is all*; and when that is much interested, a man can do any thing. Many a youth would think it hard to indent himself a slave for fourteen years. But let him be over head and ears in love, and with such a beauteous sweetheart as Rachel, and he will think no more of fourteen years servitude that young Jacob did. Well, now this is exactly my case. I am in love; and my sweetheart is LIBERTY. Be that heavenly nymph my champion, and these woods shall have charms beyond London and Paris in slavery. To have no proud monarch driving over me with his gilt coaches; nor his host of excisemen and tax-gatherers insulting and robbing; but to be my own master, my own prince and sovereign; gloriously preserving my national dignity, and pursuing my true happiness; planting my vineyards, and eating their luscious fruit; sowing my fields, and reaping the golden grain; and seeing millions of brothers all around me, equally free and happy as myself:—this, sir, is what I long for.'

The officer replied that, both as a man and a Briton, he must certainly subscribe to this as a happy state of things.

'*Happy,*' quoth Marion, 'yes, happy indeed: and I would rather fight for such blessings for my country, and feed on roots, than keep aloof, though wallowing in all the luxuries of Solomon. For now sir, I walk the soil that gave me birth, and exult in the thought that I am not unworthy of it. I look upon these venerable trees around me, and feel that I do not dishonor them. I think of my own sacred rights, and rejoice that I have not basely deserted them. And when I look forward to the long, long ages of posterity, I glory in the thought that I am fighting their battles. The children of distant generations may never hear my name; but still it



gladdens my heart to think that I am now contending for *their freedom*, with all its countless blessings."

I looked at Marion as he uttered these sentiments, and fancied I felt as when I heard the last words of the brave De Kalb. The Englishman hung down his hones head, and looked, I thought, as if he had seen the upbraiding ghosts of his illustrious countrymen, Sidney and Hamden.

On his return to Georgetown, he was asked by Col. Watson why he looked so serious ?

'I have cause, sir,' said he, 'to look so serious.'

'What! has General Marion refused to treat?'

'No, sir.'

'Well, then, has old Washington defeated Sir Henry Clinton, and broke up our army?'

'No, sir, not that neither; but *worse*.'

'Ah! what can be worse?'

'Why, sir, I have seen an American general and his officers, *without pay*, and almost *without clothes*, living on *roots*, and drinking *water*; and all for LIBERTY!! What chance have we against such men?'

It is said Colonel Watson was not much obliged to him for his speech. But the young officer was so struck with Marion's sentiments, that he never rested until he threw up his commission, and retired from the service."\*

"Gen. Marion, whose stature was diminutive, and his person uncommonly light, rode, when in service, one of the fleetest and most powerful chargers the south could produce. When in fair pursuit, nothing could escape him, and when retreating, nothing could overtake him.

Being once nearly surrounded by a party of British dragoons, he was compelled for safety, to pass into a corn-field by leaping the fence. This field, marked with a considerable descent of surface, had been in part a marsh. Marion entered it at the upper side. The dragoons in chase leapt the fence also, and were but a short distance behind him.—So completely was he now in their power, that his only mode of escape was to pass over the fence on the lower side. But here lay a difficulty which to all but himself appeared insurmountable.

To drain the ground of its superfluous waters, a trench had been cut around this part of the field, four feet wide and of the same depth. Of the mud and clay removed in

cutting it, a bank had been formed on its inner side, and on the top of this was erected the fence. The elevation of the whole amounted to more than seven feet perpendicular height ; a ditch four feet in width running parallel with it on the outside, and a foot or more of space intervening between the fence and the ditch.

The dragoons, acquainted with the nature and extent of this obstacle, and considering it impossible for their enemy to pass it, pressed towards him with loud shouts of exultation and insult, and summoned him to surrender or perish by the sword. Regardless of their rudeness and empty clamor, and inflexibly determined not to become their prisoner, Marion spurred his horse to the charge. The noble animal, as if conscious that his master's life was in danger, and that on his exertion depended his safety, approached the barrier in his finest style, and with a bound that was almost supernatural, cleared the fence and the ditch, and recovered himself without injury on the opposite side.

Marion now facing his pursuers, who had halted at the fence unable to pass it, discharged his pistols at them without effect, and then wheeling his horse, and bidding them "good morning," with an air of triumph, dashed into an adjoining thicket, and disappeared in an instant.

Gen. Marion was a native of South Carolina ; and the immediate theatre of his exploits, was a large section of the maritime district of that state, around Georgetown.—The peculiar hardihood of his constitution, and its being accommodated to a warm climate, and a low marshy country, qualified him to endure hardships and submit to exposures, which, in that sickly region, few other men would have been competent to sustain. He continued his undivided efforts until the close of the war, and lived to see the United States enrolled among the free and independent nations of the earth.

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### DANIEL MORGAN,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

GENERAL MORGAN was the creator of his own fortune. Born of poor, though honest parents, he enjoyed none of the advantages which result from wealth and early education.

But his was a spirit that would not tamely yield to difficulties.

“ He was born in New Jersey, where from his poverty and low condition, he had been a day-laborer. To early education and breeding therefore, he owed nothing. But, for this deficiency, his native sagacity, and sound judgment, and his intercourse with the best society, made much amends, in after life.

Enterprising in his disposition, even now, he removed to Virginia, in 1755, with a hope and expectation of improving his fortune. Here he continued, at first, his original business of day-labor ; but exchanged it, afterwards, for the employment of a waggoner.

His military novitiate he served in the campaign under the unfortunate Braddock. The rank he bore is not precisely known. It must, however, have been humble ; for in consequence of imputed contumely towards a British officer, he was brought to the halbert, and received the inhuman punishment of five hundred lashes ; or, according to his own statement, of four hundred and ninety-nine ; for he always asserted that the drummer charged with the execution of the sentence, miscounted, and jocularly added, “ that George the Third was still indebted to him one lash.” To the honor of Morgan, he never practically remembered this savage treatment, during the revolutionary war. Towards the British officers, whom the fortune of battle placed within his power, his conduct was humane, mild and gentlemanly.

After his return from this campaign, so inordinately was he addicted to quarrels and boxing matches, that the village of Berrystown, in the county of Frederick, which constituted the chief theatre of his pugilistic exploits, received, from this circumstance, the name of Battletown.

In these combats, although frequently overmatched in personal strength, he manifested the same unyielding spirit, which characterised him afterwards, in his military career. When worsted by his antagonist, he would pause for a time, to recruit his strength ; and then return to the contest, again and again, until he rarely failed to prove victorious.

Equally marked was his invincibility of spirit in maturer age, when raised, by fortune and his own merit, to a higher and more honorable field of action. Defeat in battle he rarely experienced ; but, when he did, his retreat was sullen, stern, and dangerous.



The commencement of the American revolution, found Mr. Morgan married, and cultivating a farm, which, by industry and economy, he had been enabled to purchase, in the county of Frederick.

Placed at the head of a rifle company, raised in his neighborhood, in 1775, he marched immediately to the American head-quarters in Cambridge, near Boston.

By order of the commander in chief, he soon afterwards joined in the expedition against Quebec; and was made prisoner, in the attempt on that fortress, where Arnold was wounded, and Montgomery fell.

During the assault, his daring valor and persevering gallantry attracted the notice and admiration of the enemy.

The assailing column, to which he belonged, was led by Major Arnold. When that officer was wounded, and carried from the ground, Morgan threw himself into the lead; and, rushing forward, passed the first and second barriers. For a moment victory appeared certain. But the fall of Montgomery, closing the prospect, the assailants were repulsed, and the enterprise abandoned.

During his captivity, Captain Morgan was treated with great kindness, and not a little distinction. He was repeatedly visited, in confinement, by a British officer of rank, who at length made an attempt on his patriotism and virtue, by offering him the commission and emoluments of colonel in the British army, on condition that he would desert the American, and join the royal standard.

Morgan rejected the proposal with scorn; and requested the courtly and corrupt negotiator "never again to insult him in his misfortunes, by an offer which plainly implied, that he thought him a villain." The officer withdrew, and did not again recur to the subject.

On being exchanged, Morgan immediately rejoined the American army, and received, by the recommendation of Gen. Washington, the command of a regiment.

In the year 1777, he was placed at the head of a select rifle corps, with which, in various instances, he acted on the enemy with terrible effect. His troops were considered the most dangerous in the American service. To confront them, in the field, was almost certain death to the British officers.

On the occasion of the capture of Burgoyne, the exertions and services of Colonel Morgan, and his riflemen, were beyond all praise. Much of the glory of the achievement belonged to them. Yet, so gross was the injustice of

General Gates, that he did not even mention them, in his official despatches. His reason for this, was secret and dishonorable. Shortly after the surrender of Burgoyne, General Gates took occasion to hold with Morgan a private conversation. In the course of this, he told him, confidentially, that the main army was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of General Washington; that the reputation of the commander in chief was rapidly declining; and that several officers of great worth threatened to resign, unless a change were produced in that department.

Col. Morgan, fathoming, in an instant, the views of his commanding officer, sternly, and with honest indignation, replied, "Sir, I have one favor to ask. Never, again, mention to me this hateful subject: under no other man but Gen. Washington, as commander in chief, will I ever serve."

From that moment ceased the intimacy that had previously subsisted between him and Gen. Gates.

A few days afterwards, the general gave a dinner to the principal officers of the British, and some of those of the American army. Morgan was not invited. In the course of the evening, that officer found it necessary to call on Gen. Gates, on official business. Being introduced into the dining-room, he spoke to the general, received his orders, and immediately withdrew, his name unannounced. Perceiving, from his dress, that he was of high rank, the British officers inquired his name. Being told that it was Col. Morgan, commanding the rifle corps, they rose from table, followed him into the yard, and introduced themselves to him, with many complimentary and flattering expressions, declaring that, on the day of action, they had very severely felt him in the field.

In 1780, having obtained leave of absence from the army, on account of the shattered condition of his health, he retired to his estate, in the county of Frederick; and remained there until the appointment of Gen. Gates to the command of the southern army.

Being waited on, by the latter, and requested to accompany him, he reminded him, in expressions, marked by resentment, of the unworthy treatment he had formerly experienced from him, in return for the important services, which he did not hesitate to assert, he had rendered him in his operations against the army of Gen. Burgoyne.

Having received no acknowledgment, nor even civility, for aiding to decorate him with laurels in the north, he

frankly declared, that there were no considerations except of a public nature, that could induce him to co-operate, in his campaigns to the south. "Motives of *public good* might influence him; because his country had a claim on him, in any quarter, where he could promote her interest; but *personal attachment* must not be expected to exist, where he had experienced nothing but neglect and injustice."

The two officers parted, mutually dissatisfied; the one, on account of past treatment, the other, of the recent interview.

In the course of a few weeks afterwards, congress having promoted Col. Morgan to the rank of brigadier-general, by brevet, with a view to avail themselves of his services in the south, he proceeded, without delay, to join the army of General Gates. But he was prevented from serving, any length of time, under that officer, by his defeat, near Camden, before his arrival; and his being soon afterwards superseded in command by Gen. Greene.\*

Soon after taking command of the southern army, General Greene despatched Gen. Morgan with four hundred continentals, under Col. Howard, Col. Washington's corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to about six hundred, to take position on the left of the British army, then lying at Winnsborough, under Lord Cornwallis, while he took post about seventy miles to his right. This judicious disposition excited his Lordship's apprehensions for the safety, of Ninety-Six and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced by the movements of Morgan.

Col. Tarleton, with a strong detachment, amounting in horse and foot to near a thousand men, was immediately despatched by Cornwallis to the protection of Ninety-Six, with orders to bring Gen. Morgan, if possible, to battle. To the ardent temper and chivalrous disposition of the British colonel, this direction was perfectly congenial. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first, to fall back rapidly. But the retreat of the American commander was not long continued. Irritated by pursuit, reinforced by a body of militia, and reposing great confidence in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, he halted at the Cowpens, and determined to gratify his adversary, in his eagerness for combat. This was on the night of the sixteenth of Jan.

\*Life of Gen. Greene.



1781. Early in the morning of the succeeding day, Tarleton, being apprised of the situation of Morgan, pressed towards him with redoubled rapidity, lest, by renewing his retreat, he should again elude him.

But Morgan now had other thoughts than those of flight. Already had he, for several days, been at war with himself in relation to his conduct. Glorifying in action, his spirit recoiled from the humiliation of retreat, and his resentment was roused by the insolence of pursuit. This mental conflict becoming more intolerable to him than disaster or death, his courage triumphed perhaps over his prudence, and he resolved upon putting every thing to the hazard of the sword.

By military men, who have studied the subject, his disposition for battle is said to have been masterly. Two light parties of militia were advanced in front, with orders to feel the enemy as they approached; and preserving a desultory well-aimed fire, as they fell back to the front line, to range with it and renew the conflict. The main body of the militia composed this line, with Gen. Pickens at its head. At a suitable distance in the rear of the first line, a second was stationed, composed of the continental infantry and two companies of Virginia militia, commanded by Col. Howard.—Washington's cavalry reinforced with a company of mounted militia, armed with sabres, was held in reserve.

Posting himself, then, in the line of the regulars, he waited, in silence, the advance of the enemy.

Tarleton, coming in sight, hastily formed his disposition for battle, and commenced the assault. Of this conflict, the following picture is from the pen of General Lee:—

“The American light parties quickly yielded, fell back, and arrayed with Pickens. The enemy, shouting, rushed forward upon the front line, which retained its station, and poured in a close fire; but continuing to advance with the bayonet on our militia, they retired, and gained with haste, the second line. Here, with part of the corps, Pickens took post on Howard's right, and the rest fled to their horses, probably with orders to remove them to a further distance. Tarleton pushed forward, and was received by his adversary with unshaken firmness. The contest became obstinate; and each party, animated by the example of its leader, nobly contended for victory. Our line maintained itself so firmly, as to oblige the enemy to order up his reserve. The advance of M'Arthur reanimated the British line, which again

moved forward, and, outstretching our front, endangered Col. Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but, mistaking this order, the company fell back; upon which the line began to retire, and Gen. Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manœuvre being performed with precision, our flank became relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder; but as it drew near, Howard faced about, and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry, having gained our rear, fell on that portion of the militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus, by a simultaneous effort, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general."

"In this decisive battle we lost about seventy men, of whom twelve only were killed. The British infantry, with the exception of the baggage guard, were nearly all killed or taken. One hundred, including ten officers, were killed; twenty-three officers and five hundred privates were taken. The artillery, 800 muskets, two standards, thirty-five baggage waggons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into our possession."

In this battle, so glorious to the American arms, Tarleton had every advantage, in point of ground, cavalry, and numbers, aided by two pieces of artillery.

Soon after this brilliant exploit, frequent attacks of the rheumatism compelled General Morgan to retire from the army, and he returned to his seat in Frederick, Virginia, where he continued in retirement, until the insurrection in the western part of Pennsylvania, in 1794, when he was detached by the executive of Virginia, at the head of the militia quota of that state, to suppress it. This done, he returned into the bosom of his family, where he remained until death closed his earthly career, in 1799.

"There existed in the character of General Morgan, a singular contradiction, which is worthy of notice.

Although, in battle, no man was ever more prodigal of the exposure of his person to danger, or manifested a more deliberate disregard of death, yet, so strong was his love of life, at other times, that he has been frequently heard to declare, "he would agree to pass half his time as a galley slave rather than quit this world for another."

The following outline of his person and character, is from the pen of a military friend, who knew him intimately.

"Brigadier-General Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating, nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious, and considerate, unadorned and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed, with keen perseverance, whatever he undertook. He was indulgent, in his military command, preferring always the affections of his troops to that dread and awe which surround the rigid disciplinarian."

A considerable time before his death, when the pressure of infirmity began to be heavy, he became seriously concerned, about his future welfare. From that period, his chief solace lay in the study of the scriptures, and in devotional exercises. He died in the belief of the truths of Christianity, and in full communion with the Presbyterian Church."\*

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### **RICHARD MONTGOMERY,**

Major General in the American Army.

GEN. MONTGOMERY, whose premature death under the walls of Quebec, robbed the American army of one of its brightest ornaments, was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1737.

He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great Britain, he successfully fought her battles with Wolfe, at Quebec, in

\* Amer. Biographical Dictionary.



1759, and on the very spot where he was doomed to fall, when fighting against her, under the banners of freedom.—After his return to England, he quitted his regiment in 1772, though in a fair way to preferment.

He had imbibed a strong attachment to America, and viewing it as the rising seat of science and freedom, resolved upon transferring to her his allegiance. After his arrival in this country, he purchased an estate in New York, about one hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston. He now considered himself as an American.

Connected with one of the first families in New York, happy in the highest enjoyment of domestic felicity, he was led by principle to quit the occupations of rural life ; and animated with an ardent zeal for the cause of human nature, the liberties of mankind, and the glory of America, both his active life, and his heroic death, verified his last expression to his amiable lady—“ *You shall never blush for your Montgomery.*”

At the commencement of the struggle with Great Britain, the command of the continental forces in the northern department, was intrusted to him and Gen. Schuyler, in the fall of 1775.

“ While the British army was cooped up in Boston, without the power of much annoyance to the surrounding country, the congress conceived the design of sending a force into Canada, for the purpose of putting a stop to the preparations which it was known that General Carleton, the governor of that province, was making, for aiding his majesty’s forces on this side of the Lakes. For this purpose, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with *two regiments* of New York militia, and a body of New Englandmen, amounting in the whole to about two thousand men, were ordered to move towards Ticonderoga, which had remained in possession of the Americans, since the expedition of Colonels Arnold and Allen. General Schuyler being detained at Albany, Montgomery proceeded alone to Crown Point, where he received intelligence that several armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John’s, were preparing to enter the Lake Champlain, for the purpose of impeding the passage of his troops. This determined him, though not more than half of his troops had arrived, to cross over to the Isle aux Noix, at the entrance of the Sorel, and thus blockade the vessels which lay in that river. He had scarcely succeeded

in this design, before he was joined by General Schuyler ; and it was determined, after publishing a declaration to the Canadians, setting forth their friendly intentions towards them, to proceed immediately against the fort of St. John's. With this view, they proceeded with their batteaux, for a few miles down the Sorel, and landed on a swampy ground, through which with great difficulty they marched to within two miles of the fort. Here they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, which, after a smart skirmish, they dispersed with a trifling loss, and continued their march ; but upon coming within view of the fort, and seeing its strength, General Schuyler, whose force did not amount to a thousand men, thought it prudent to return to the Isle aux Noix, without attempting its reduction. The general, being then obliged to return to Albany, to settle a treaty with the Indians, left the command solely to Montgomery ; and never was there a general better qualified for the duties which now devolved upon him. It was absolutely necessary, before he could go against Montreal, that the fort of St. John's should be reduced. It was well provided, and strongly garrisoned.

The supply of ammunition with which General Montgomery was provided was much too small to render an immediate siege of St. John's prudent ; and he would probably have been compelled to remain inactive until too late in the season to effect his object, but for the information of some Canadians, that the little fortress of Chamblee, which was but feebly garrisoned, contained a good store of that article. He accordingly made himself master of that place, and, to his great satisfaction, found one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, besides a large quantity of other military stores and provisions. The expedition against this fortress was conducted by Majors Brown and Livingston. They found here the standard of the 7th regiment, which was immediately sent to the congress.

General Montgomery, being thus enabled to carry on the siege of St. John's, proceeded to erect his works, and to prepare for a general assault. General Carleton, in the mean time, hearing of the situation of St. John's, prepared to raise a force for its relief. He had posted Colonel M'Lean, with a regiment of Scotch emigrants, at the mouth of the Sorel ; and having raised about a thousand men at Montreal, he attempted to cross at Longueuil for the purpose of forming a junction, and marching to the relief of St.

John's. But Colonel Ward, who was stationed at Longueil, with *three hundred Green Mountain Boys*, and a small piece of artillery, kept up so warm a fire upon their boats, that the general was glad to return to Montreal.

When the news of this repulse reached Montgomery, he sent a flag to Major Preston, who commanded the besieged fortress, summoning him to surrender ; as all hope of relief was cut off by Carleton's repulse, and a further resistance could only lead to an useless waste of lives. Major Preston solicited a few days to consider the proposal, being still impressed with the hope that General Carleton might be able to come to his assistance ; but upon his request being refused, he accepted the honorable terms of capitulation which Gen. Montgomery offered to him, and surrendered his garrison prisoners of war. The British officers spoke highly of the polite regard and attention shown to them by Montgomery, who permitted them to wear their swords, and to take off all their baggage and effects. The fort surrendered on the 3d of November."\*

On the 12th he took Montreal, the British General Carleton having abandoned the town to its fate, and made his escape down the river in the night, in a small canoe with muffled oars. Montgomery thus obtained possession of all the naval force of the river, consisting of eleven armed vessels.

"Many circumstances combined to render the situation of General Montgomery, though a conqueror, extremely unpleasant. The season was far advanced, and the severities of the climate induced many of his men to desert—the time for which many others were enlisted was about to expire ; and few were willing to encounter the hardships of a long march through the deep snows of December. Nothing but personal attachment to the noble character of their commander could have kept a single regiment together.—After new clothing all his men at Montreal, and rendering them in other respects as comfortable as the magazines there would admit of ; and having taken the necessary measures to ensure a supply of provisions on the march, the general pushed on through every difficulty, and joined Arnold, who had marched through the wilderness, and arrived before Quebec a short time previous, on the first of December.—His appearance was a source of great joy to the Colonel's



troops, as he had not forgotten to bring with him a store of such supplies as he knew them to want.

Montgomery lost no time after his arrival in preparing for an immediate attack. The whole of his force did not amount to more than the troops of the garrison ; but he attempted by assuming an appearance of greater strength to weaken the confidence of the latter, and thereby accomplish his object without bloodshed. For this purpose, on the 5th of December, he addressed a letter to the governor, in which he urged him by every argument calculated to produce an effect upon his humanity or his fears, to spare his garrison the dreadful consequences of a storm, by an immediate surrender. General Carleton, however, was too old a soldier to be deceived by appearances—he knew the difficulties under which Montgomery labored, and was convinced that if his garrison could hold out for a few days, the climate would compel the provincials to abandon the siege. Montgomery's messenger was fired at, and all communication forbidden. In this situation General Montgomery commenced a bombardment from five small mortars, which he kept up for several days, with the hope of throwing the garrison into confusion. But it seemed to produce no effect—a battery of six guns was next opened upon them, at the distance of seven hundred yards, with no better success. The garrison remained insensible to an impression of alarm.

Gen. Montgomery now found himself under circumstances much more delicate and embarrassing, than those which had, sixteen years before, environed the hero Wolfe at the same spot. Several feet of snow covered the ground—his troops had undergone every hardship that it was possible to suffer, and it seemed now almost impossible for human nature to endure more. He had arrived before Quebec a conqueror, his fame had reached his countrymen and his commander at Cambridge, and they would expect a continuance of success. He remembered moreover his parting words to the beloved partner of his bosom—"you shall never blush for your Montgomery," he had said, when he gave her the last embrace.—While these feelings and recollections were alternately elevating and depressing his noble spirit, he made a desperate resolution to attempt the enemy's works by escalade. And such was the skill with which his plan had been formed, that no doubt can remain, that he would ultimately have succeeded, had not his whole scheme

been communicated to the garrison by some scoundrels who deserted him at this critical moment.

Montgomery soon perceived that the garrison were prepared; and it became necessary to change his whole plan of operations. Having disposed his army into four divisions, two of which he intended should make feigned attacks, while Arnold and himself should be engaged in real attacks upon two opposite sides, before daylight on the 31st of December, in a thick fall of snow, Montgomery advanced at the head of the New-Yorkers. Here again his fate resembled Wolfe's, for before he could reach the place from whence he intended to commence the attack, the signal had been given through mistake, and the whole garrison were alarmed. It was too late now to make another change in the plan of attack, and Montgomery pushed on—he was compelled to advance through a narrow path between a precipice and overhanging rocks—he had seized and passed the first barrier, and was boldly advancing to the second, with a few of his bravest companions, when a discharge of grape shot from the cannon that were placed there, stopped the progress of this brave and excellent officer, and destroyed the hopes of the enterprise. Upon the fall of the general, the officer upon whom the command of his party devolved, retired without making any attempt to pursue the advantages already gained. Some of his bravest officers had shared the glorious destiny of Montgomery, or Quebec must have fallen to the united efforts of this party and that under Arnold.”\*

In accordance with the concerted plan, “Arnold advanced with the utmost intrepidity against the battery in the other quarter of the city. The alarm was immediately given, and the fire on his flank commenced, which, however, did not prove very destructive. As he approached the barrier he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone, and was carried off the field to the hospital. Morgan rushed forward to the battery, at the head of his company, and received from one of the pieces, almost at its mouth, a discharge of grape shot, which killed only one man. A few rifles were immediately fired into the embrasures, by which a British soldier was wounded in the head, and the barricade being instantly mounted, with the aid of ladders, brought by his men on their shoulders, the battery

was deserted without discharging the other gun. The captain of the guard, with the greater number of his men, fell into the hands of the Americans, and the others made their escape.

Morgan formed the troops, consisting of his own company, and a few bold individuals who had pressed forward from other parts of the division, in the streets within the barrier ; and took into custody several English and Canadian burghers ; but his situation soon became extremely critical. He was not followed by the main body of the division ; he had no guide, and was, himself, totally ignorant of the situation of the town. It was yet dark ; and he had not the slightest knowledge of the course to be pursued, or of the defences to be encountered. Thus circumstanced, it was thought unadvisable to advance further.

As the glow, produced by immense exertion, gave way to the cold, which was so intense that they were covered with icicles, and as the ardor, excited by action, subsided, when they were no longer engaged, even this daring party became less animated. Whilst waiting in total ignorance of the fate of the residue of the division, the darkness of the night, the fury of the storm, the scattering fire still kept up by the enemy, principally in their rear, the paucity of their numbers, and the uncertainty concerning their future operations, visibly affected them. It was, after some deliberation, determined to maintain their ground, while Morgan should return to the barrier they had passed, for the purpose of bringing up the troops who were supposed to be still on the other side of it.

They were soon joined by Lieutenant Colonel Greene, and Majors Bigelow and Meiggs, with several fragments of companies, so as to constitute, altogether, about two hundred men.

As the light of the day began to appear, this small but gallant party was again formed, with Morgan's company in front ; and with one voice, they loudly called on him to lead them against the second barrier, which was now known to be less than forty paces from them, though concealed by an angle of the street from their immediate view. Seizing the few ladders brought with them, they again rushed on to the charge, and on turning the angle, were hailed by captain, or lieutenant Anderson, who was just issuing with a body of troops, through the gate of the barricade, for the purpose of attacking the Americans, whom he had expected to find



dispersed, and probably plundering the town. Morgan, who was in the front, answered his challenge by a ball through his head, and as he fell he was drawn within the barricade and the gate closed upon the assailants, who received at the same instant a tremendous fire from the windows overlooking the barrier, and from the port holes through it. Ladders were immediately placed against the barricade, and for some time a fierce contest was maintained, which, on the part of the assailants, was also a bloody one. A few of the bolder, among the front files, ascended the ladders under this deadly fire; and saw, on the other side of the barricade, double ranks of soldiers, who, with their muskets planted on the ground, presented hedges of bayonets to receive them, if they should attempt to leap to the earth. Exposed thus, in a narrow street, to a most galling fire, many of the assailants threw themselves into the stone houses on each side, which afforded them a shelter both from the storm, and from the enemy; and through the windows of which they kept up an irregular and not very effective fire. One circumstance which greatly contributed to the irresolution now displaying itself, was, that scarcely more than one in ten of the fire arms could be used. Notwithstanding the precaution of tying handkerchiefs around the locks, the violence of the storm had totally unfitted them for service. Morgan soon found himself at the barrier with only a few officers and a small number of soldiers. Yet he could not prevail on himself to relinquish the enterprise. With a voice louder than the tempest, he called on those who were sheltered in the houses, to come forth and scale the barrier; but he called in vain; neither exhortations nor reproaches could draw them in sufficient numbers to the point of attack. Being at length compelled to relinquish all hopes of success, he ordered the few brave men who still adhered to him, to save themselves in the houses, while he, accompanied only by Lieut. Heth, returned towards the first barrier, in order to concert with the field officers some plan for drawing off the troops. He soon met Majors Bigelow and Meiggs, to whom he proposed an immediate retreat by the same route along which they had marched to the attack.—This proposition was assented to, and Lieut. Heth was despatched to draw the troops from their present situation."\*

“In Montgomery, the Americans lost one of the bravest and most accomplished generals that ever led an army to the field. But he was not more illustrious for his skill and courage as an officer than he was estimable for his private virtues. He possessed a mind adorned with every accomplishment, and a person in which every manly grace shone with conspicuous lustre. His was

“A combination, and a form indeed,  
Where every god did seem to set his seal,  
To give the world assurance of a man.”

General Montgomery had borne the commission of a Colonel in the war of 1759, and was fighting by the side of Wolfe, when that Spartan hero fell. His bravery and his worth were then acknowledged by the British army, and they were proud to regard him as a friend and a brother; but notwithstanding the many professions of attachment and esteem for his character, his body would have been thrown with the heap of slain, uncoffined and unmarked, into the same indiscriminate pit, but for the lieutenant-governor: who, urged by the solicitations of the lady whom he afterwards married, reluctantly procured a coffin of the roughest sort, and thus apart from the rest, buried his former friend and companion in arms.—From this spot, after mouldering in the grave for more than forty-two years, the bones of this gallant soldier were removed by his fellow-citizens of New-York, and deposited in a tomb more worthy of him.

The resemblance in the character, conduct, and destiny of Wolfe and Montgomery, is too striking to be passed over without a remark. Montgomery had been in some measure the pupil of Wolfe; under his guidance he had learned the first rudiments of war; and in his career of glory, he saw an example worthy of imitation. We have seen the difficulties under which Wolfe had to struggle, and we have seen the noble daring which led him, perhaps against the suggestions of prudence, to attempt to surmount them. He lived, as he expressed himself, but to fight Montcalm on equal ground—this accomplished, he had consummated the only object of his existence, and died “*content*.” Wolfe was fighting for his king under the orders of his ministry, and here lies the striking difference in the lives and fortunes of these heroes. Montgomery entered on the expedition with the name of rebel.—He ventured his fame, his char-

acter, his life, in the service of revolted colonies—but it was to secure to these colonies the enjoyment of liberty under the rights of the constitution. For this he sacrificed the tender endearments of conjugal felicity, and at the head of an undisciplined body of men, placed himself in opposition to a veteran general. The skill which he displayed was equal to the fortitude which such an enterprise demanded. He had not only to contend against a formidable enemy, but against the severities of a climate to which none of his men were accustomed. His having in one night constructed a *battery of ice*, will at once show his military skill and industry, and the intense coldness of the climate. With a discontented, starving and mutinous army, he pushed boldly forward in search of that victory which had cheered the parting moments of Wolfe. But destiny had marked a different course for him; death arrested his steps too soon. He was cut off in the onset, and none was left to follow the plan which he had marked out—his last sigh was embittered by anticipated defeat.

Victory brings its own lustre; and when she entwines her garlands around the head of an insensate corpse, they seem from that single circumstance to display a lovelier verdure: death gives a more touching interest, a deeper pathos to the fate of the hero—the million will admire, and posterity will always applaud. But how does the tragedy deepen when the hero expires on the field of battle, surrounded not by the beams of victory, but by the darkness of defeat. He sees nothing to cheer his parting moments—nothing in anticipation but public obloquy, and that reproach which seems inseparable from want of success. This reproach and this obloquy did pursue the shade of Montgomery: his heroism was stigmatised with the character of rashness—of insanity. But let it be remembered, that nothing but the difference of a few hours in the term of his life, prevented that victory which consecrated the same rashness in Wolfe, and impressed upon it the character of glory.

The turn of a die decides the fate of an army; and the same thing is desperation in one, or the highest effort of military skill in another, according as defeat or success shall attend the enterprise. Posterity, that looks at the records of history unbiassed, will observe no difference in the mer-



its of Wolfe and Montgemery. They were both heroes—both entitled to the chaplet of immortal fame.”\*

To express the high sense entertained by his country of his services, congress directed a monument of white marble to be erected, with the following inscription; which was placed in front of St. Paul's Church, New-York:—

THIS MONUMENT  
was erected by order of  
Congress, 25th January, 1776,  
to transmit to posterity  
a grateful remembrance of the  
PATRIOTISM, CONDUCT, ENTER-  
PRISE AND PERSEVERANCE  
of Major-General  
RICHARD MONTGOMERY,  
who, after a series of successes,  
amidst the most discour-  
aging difficulties,  
fell in the attack on  
QUEBEC,  
31st December, 1775;  
aged 39 years.

The remains of Gen. Montgomery, after resting 42 years at Quebec, by a resolve of the state of New-York, were brought to the city of New-York, on the 8th of July, 1818, and deposited with ample form, and grateful ceremonies, near the aforesaid monument in St. Paul's Church.

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### ISRAEL PUTNAM,

Major-General in the American Army.

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who, through a regular gradation of promotion, became the senior Major-General in the army of the United States, and next in rank to General Washington, was born at Salem, Mass. on the 7th day of January, 1718.

Courage, enterprise, activity and perseverance, were the first characteristics of his mind; and his disposition was as frank and generous, as his mind was fearless and inde-

\*American Revolution.

pendent. Although he had too much suavity in his nature to commence a quarrel, he had too much sensibility not to feel, and too much honor not to resent, an intended insult. The first time he went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size and age: after bearing the sarcasms until his patience was worn out, he challenged, engaged, and vanquished his unmannerly antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. While a stripling, his ambition was to perform the labor of a man, and to excel in athletic diversions.

In the year 1739, he removed from Salem to Pomfret, an inland, fertile town in Connecticut. Having here purchased a considerable tract of land, he applied himself successfully to agriculture.

“ Our farmer, sufficiently occupied in building an house and barn, felling woods, making fences, sowing grain, planting orchards and taking care of his stock, had to encounter, in turn, the calamities occasioned by drought in summer, blast in harvest, loss of cattle in winter, and the desolation of his sheep-fold by wolves. In one night he had 70 fine sheep and goats killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded. This havoc was committed by a she-wolf, which, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity.

This wolf at length became such an intolerable nuisance, that Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbours to hunt alternately until they could destroy her. Two, by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known that, having lost the toes from one foot by a steel-trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige the pursuers recognized in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut River, and found she had turned back in a direct course towards Pomfret, they immediately returned; and by ten o'clock the next morning, the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about three miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam. The people soon collected, with dogs, guns, fire and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back badly wounded, and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw had no effect. Nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit the retirement.—Wearied with such fruitless attempts, (which had brought

the time to ten o'clock at night,) Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain : he proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern, and shoot the wolf : the negro declined the hazardous service. Then it was that the master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest she should escape through some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbours strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprise : but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and having provided several strips of birch bark, the only combustible material which he could obtain, that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave, prepared for his descent. Having accordingly, divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

The aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square ; from thence it descends obliquely fifteen feet, then running horizontally about ten more, it ascends gradually sixteen feet towards its termination. The sides of this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone ; and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is exceedingly slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright, nor in any part more than three feet in width.

Having groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He, cautiously proceeding onwards, came to the ascent ; which he slowly mounted on his hands and knees until he discovered the glaring eyeballs of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Started at the sight of fire, she gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discovery, he kicked the rope, as a signal for pulling him out. The people at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf, and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such celerity



that his shirt was stripped over his head, and his skin severely lacerated. After he had adjusted his clothes, and loaded his gun with nine buck-shot, holding a torch in one hand, and the musket in the other, he descended the second time. When he drew nearer than before, the wolf, assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling, rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude, and on the point of springing at him. At the critical instant he levelled and fired at her head. Stunned with the shock, and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found himself drawn out of the cave. But having refreshed himself, and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time. Once more he came within sight of the wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose, and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope, (still tied round his legs,) the people above with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.”\*

But the time had now arrived, which was to turn the instruments of husbandry into weapons of hostility, and to exchange the hunting of wolves, which had ravaged the sheep-folds, for the pursuit after savages who had desolated the frontiers. Putnam was about 37 years of age, when the war between England and France broke out in America.—In 1755 he was appointed to the command of a company, in the first regiment of Provincials that was levied by Connecticut. The regiment joined the army at the opening of the campaign, not far distant from Crown Point.

“Soon after his arrival at camp, he became intimately acquainted with the famous partizan Captain, afterwards Major Rogers, with whom he was frequently associated in traversing the wilderness, reconnoitering the enemy’s lines, gaining intelligence and taking straggling prisoners, as well as in beating up the quarters, and surprising the advanced pickets of their army. For these operations, a corps of rangers was formed from the irregulars. The first time Rogers and Putnam were detached with a party of these light troops, it was the fortune of the latter to preserve, with his own hand, the life of the former, and to cement their friendship with the blood of one of their enemies.

The object of this expedition was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the position and state of the works at Crown

Point. It was impracticable to approach with their party near enough for this purpose, without being discovered.—Alone, the undertaking was sufficiently hazardous, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians who infested the woods. Our two partizans, however, left all their men at a convenient distance, with strict orders to continue concealed until their return. Having thus cautiously taken their arrangements, they advanced with the profoundest silence in the evening; and lay during the night contiguous to the fortress. Early in the morning they approached so close as to be able to give satisfactory information to the general who had sent them, on the several points to which their attention had been directed: but Captain Rogers, being at a little distance from Captain Putnam, fortuitously met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fusee with one hand, and with the other attempted to stab him, while he called to an adjacent guard for assistance. The guard answered.—Putnam, perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost, or further alarm given by firing, ran rapidly to them, while they were yet struggling, and with the butt-end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The partizans, to elude pursuit, precipitated their flight, joined the party, and returned without loss to the encampment.”\*

The time for which the colonial troops engaged to serve terminated with the campaign. Putnam was reappointed, and again took the field in 1756.

“Few are so ignorant of war as not to know that military adventures, in the night, are always extremely liable to accidents. Captain Putnam, having been commanded to reconnoitre the enemy’s camp at the Ovens near Ticonderoga, took the brave Lieutenant Robert Durkee as his companion. In attempting to execute these orders, he narrowly missed being taken himself in the first instance, and killing his friend in the second. It was customary for the British and Provincial troops to place their fires round their camp, which frequently exposed them to the enemy’s scouts and patrols. A contrary practice, then unknown in the English army, prevailed among the French and Indians. The plan was much more rational: they kept their fires in the centre, lodged their men circularly at a distance, and posted their sentinels in the surrounding darkness. Our parti-

zans approached the camp, and supposing the sentries were within the circle of fires, crept upon their hands and knees with the greatest possible caution, until, to their utter astonishment, they found themselves in the thickest of the enemy. The sentinels, discovering them, fired, and slightly wounded Durkee in the thigh. He and Putnam had no alternative. They fled. The latter, being foremost, and scarcely able to see his hand before him, soon plunged into a clay-pit. Durkee, almost at the identical moment, came tumbling after. Putnam, by no means pleased at finding a companion, and believing him to be one of the enemy, lifted his tomahawk to give the deadly blow, when Durkee, (who had followed so closely as to know him,) inquired whether he had escaped unhurt. Captain Putnam, instantly recognizing the voice, dropped his weapon; and both, springing from the pit, made good their retreat to the neighbouring ledges, amidst a shower of random shot. There they betook themselves to a large log, by the side of which they lodged the remainder of the night. Before they lay down, Captain Putnam said he had a little rum in his canteen, which could never be more acceptable or necessary: but on examining the canteen, which hung under his arm, he found the enemy had pierced it with their balls, and that there was not a drop of liquor left. 'The next day he found fourteen bullet holes in his blanket.'\*

Nothing worthy of remark happened during the course of this campaign, but the active services of Captain Putnam on every occasion attracted the admiration of the public, and induced the legislature of Connecticut to promote him to a majority in 1757.

"In the winter of 1757, when Col. Haviland was commandant at Fort Edward, the barracks adjoining to the northwest bastion took fire. They extended within twelve feet of the magazine, which contained three hundred barrels of powder. On its first discovery, the fire raged with great violence. The commandant endeavored, in vain, by discharging some pieces of heavy artillery against the supporters of this flight of barracks, to level them with the ground. Putnam arrived from the island where he was stationed at the moment when the blaze approached that end which was contiguous to the magazine. Instantly a vigorous attempt was made to extinguish the conflagration. A



way was opened by a postern gate to the river, and the soldiers were employed in bringing water; which he, having mounted on a ladder to the eves of the building, received and threw upon the flame. It continued, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to gain upon them. He stood, enveloped in smoke, so near the sheet of fire, that a pair of thick blanket mittens were burnt entirely from his hands; he was supplied with another pair dipt in water. Colonel Haviland, fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him to come down. But he entreated that he might be suffered to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant commandant, not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed, "if we must be blown up, we will go all together." At last, when the barracks were seen to be tumbling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets to pour water upon the magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire, and as only one thickness of timber intervened, the trepidation now became general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders, and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided, and the danger was wholly over. He had contended for one hour and a half with that terrible element. His legs, his thighs, his arms, and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens, the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered. The commandant, to whom his merits had before endeared him, could not stifle the emotions of gratitude, due to the man who had been so instrumental in preserving the magazine, the fort, and the garrison.

In the month of August five hundred men were employed, under the orders of Majors Rogers and Putnam, to watch the motions of the enemy near Ticonderoga. At South-Bay they separated the party into two equal divisions, and Rogers took a position on Wood-Creek, twelve miles distant from Putnam.

Upon being, sometime afterwards, discovered, they formed a re-union, and concerted measures for returning to Fort Edward. Their march through the woods was *in three divisions* by FILES: the right commanded by Rogers, the left

by Putnam, and the centre by Capt. D'Ell. At the moment of moving, the famous French partizan Molang, who had been sent with five hundred men to intercept our party, was not more than one mile and a half distant from them. Major Putnam was just emerging from the thicket, into the common forest, when the enemy rose, and with discordant yells and whoops, commenced an attack upon the right of his division. Surprised, but undismayed, Putnam halted, returned the fire, and passed the word for the other divisions to advance for his support. D'Ell came. The action, though widely scattered, and principally fought between man and man, soon grew general and intensely warm.

Major Putnam, perceiving it would be impracticable to cross the creek in his rear, determined to maintain his ground. Inspired by his example, the officers and men behaved with great bravery: sometimes they fought aggregately in open view, and sometimes individually under cover; taking aim from behind the bodies of trees, and acting in a manner independent of each other. For himself, having discharged his fuzee several times, at length it missed fire, while the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a large and well proportioned savage. This warrior, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous war-whoop, sprang forward, with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender; and having disarmed and bound him fast to a tree, returned to the battle.

The intrepid Captain D'Ell and Harman, who now commanded, were forced to give ground for a little distance: the savages, conceiving this to be the certain harbinger of victory, rushed impetuously on, with dreadful and redoubled cries. But our two partizans, collecting a handful of brave men, gave the pursuers so warm a reception as to oblige them, in turn, to retreat a little beyond the spot at which the action had commenced. Here they made a stand. This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied to be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side, many struck the tree, while some passed through the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, to stir his limbs, or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour. So equally balanced, and so obstinate was the fight! At one moment, while the battle swerved in favor of the enemy, a young savage chose an

odd way of discovering his humour. He found Putnam bound. He might have despatched him at a blow. But he loved better to excite the terrors of the prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head, or rather it should seem his object was to see how near he could throw it without touching him—the weapon struck in the tree a number of times at a hair's breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French bas-officer (a much more inveterate savage by nature, though descended from so humane and polished a nation) perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and, levelling a fuzee within a foot of his breast, attempted to discharge it—it missed fire. Ineffectually did the intended victim solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honor or of nature : deaf to their voice, and dead to sensibility, he violently, and repeatedly, pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the but-end of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.

At length the active intrepidity of D'Ell and Harman, seconded by the persevering valor of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about ninety dead behind them. As they were retiring, Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and whom he afterwards called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes ; loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled upon him ; strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord. After he had marched, through no pleasant paths, in this painful manner, for many a tedious mile, the party (who were excessively fatigued) halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled from the tightness of the ligature ; and the pain had become intolerable. His feet were so much scratched, that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he entreated the Irish interpreter to implore, as the last and only grace he desired of the savages, that they would knock him on the head and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer, instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound, and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time the In-



dian who captured him, and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave him a pair of mocasons, and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.

That savage chief again returned to the care of the wounded, and the Indians, about two hundred in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were that night to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam, on whom, besides innumerable other outrages, they had the barbarity to inflict a deep wound with the tomahawk in the left cheek. His sufferings were in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labors, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it, until at last, the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat.

His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, as far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past—nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things—when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself—to whom a savage, unwilling

to see another human sacrifice immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose nocturnal pow-was and hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained until he could deliver him in safety into the hands of his master.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit ; but finding that he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive, (the refreshment being finished) he took the mocasons from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists : then directing him to lie down on his back upon the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree ; the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner—his legs were stretched apart, and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles, were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot ; on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture he remained until morning. During this night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludicrous group for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and mocasons, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, and which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga ; and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard. The savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took other opportunity for manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures ; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montréal by a

French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he had a Provincial Major in his custody? He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition—without coat, waistcoat, or hose—the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged—his beard long and squalid—his legs torn by thorns and briars—his face gashed with wounds, and swollen with bruises. Col. Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits, consistent with the prudence of a prisoner and the meekness of a Christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by that liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed.

The capture of Frontenac by General Bradstreet afforded occasion for an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler was comprehended in the cartel. A generous spirit can never be satisfied with imposing tasks for its generosity to accomplish. Apprehensive if it should be known that Putnam was a distinguished partizan, his liberation might be retarded, and knowing that there were officers who, from the length of their captivity, had a claim of priority to exchange, he had, by his happy address, induced the governor to offer, that whatever officer he might think proper to nominate should be included in the present cartel. With great politeness in manner, but seeming indifference as to object, he expressed his warmest acknowledgments to the governor, and said,—‘There is an old man here, who is a Provincial major, and wishes to be at home with his wife and children; he can do no good here or any where else: I believe your Excellency had better keep some of the young men, who have no wife nor children to care for, and let the old fellow go home with me.’ This justifiable finesse had the desired effect.”\*

Shortly after, Putnam was promoted to a lieutenant-colonel, in which he continued until the close of the war, ever, and on all occasions, supporting his hard-earned reputation for valor and intrepidity; and, at the expiration of ten years



from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction laid aside his uniform and returned to the plough.

On the 22d day of March, 1765, the stamp-act received the royal assent. Col. Putnam was at this time a member of the house of assembly of the State of Connecticut, and was deputed to wait on the then Governor Fitch on the subject. The questions of the governor and answers of Putnam, will serve to indicate the spirit of the times. After some conversation, the governor asked Col Putnam "what he should do if the stamped paper should be sent to him by the king's authority?" Putnam replied,—“lock it up until we shall visit you again.” “And what will you do then?” “We shall expect you to give us the key of the room in which it is deposited: and, if you think fit, in order to secure yourself from blame, you may forewarn us, upon our peril, not to enter the room.” “And what will you do afterwards?” “Send it safely back again.” “But if I should refuse admission?” “In such case your house will be demolished in five minutes.” It is supposed that a report of this conversation was one reason why the stamp paper was never sent from New-York to Connecticut.

Being once, in particular, asked by a British officer, with whom he had formerly served, “whether he did not seriously believe that a well-appointed British army of five thousand veterans could march though the whole continent of America?”—he briskly replied, “no doubt, if they behaved civilly, and paid well for every thing they wanted; but,” after a moment's pause, added, “if they should attempt it in a hostile manner, (though the American men were out of the question,) the women, with their ladles and broomsticks, would knock them all on the head before they had got half way through.”

The battle of Lexington found Putnam in the midst of his agricultural pursuits. Immediately upon learning the fatal rencounter, he left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and, without waiting to change his clothes, set off for the theatre of action. But finding the British retreated to Boston, and invested by a sufficient force to watch their movements, he came back to Connecticut, levied a regiment under authority of the legislature, and

speedily returned to Cambridge. He was now promoted to be a major-general on the continental establishment.

“Not long after this period, the British commander in chief found the means to convey a proposal, privately, to General Putnam, that if he would relinquish the rebel party, he might rely upon being made a major-general on the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services. Gen. Putnam spurned at the offer; which, however, he thought prudent at that time to conceal from public notice.”

“In the battle of Bunker’s Hill he exhibited his usual intrepidity. He directed the men to reserve their fire, till the enemy was very near, reminded them of their skill, and told them to take good aim. They did so, and the execution was terrible. After the retreat, he made a stand at Winter Hill, and drove back the enemy under cover of their ships. When the army was organized by General Washington at Cambridge, Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In August, 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long-Island. After the defeat of our army on the twenty-seventh of that month, he went to New-York and was very serviceable in the city and neighborhood. In October or November he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city.

In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Brunswick might be sent for to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and he did not wish to have his weakness known; yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He however sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer, on his return, reported that General Putnam’s army could not consist of less than four or five thousand men.

In the spring he was appointed to the command of a separate army in the Highlands of New-York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp; Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. Gen. Putnam wrote the following pithy reply:—“Sir, Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king’s service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy;





GEN. PUTNAM'S ESCAPE  
from the British at Horse-neck.





and he shall be hanged as a spy. P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of Fort Montgomery, the commander in chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed Putnam to fix upon a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point."\*

"About the middle of winter, while General Putnam was on a visit to his out-post at Horse-Neck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon that town with a corps of fifteen hundred men. To oppose these, General Putnam had only a picquet of 150 men, and two iron field pieces, without horses or dragropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, by the meeting-house, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until, perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picquet to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, and secured his own, by plunging down the steep precipice at the church upon a full trot. This precipice is so steep, where he descended, as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. There the dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short; for the declivity was so abrupt, that they ventured not to follow; and, before they could gain the valley, by going round the brow of the hill in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route unmolested, to Stamford; from whence, having strengthened his picquet by the junction of some militia, he came back again, and, in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat. As he rode down the precipice, one ball, of the many fired at him, went through his beaver; but Governor Tryon, by way of compensation for spoiling his hat, sent him, soon afterwards, as a present, a complete suit of clothes."†

The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at West Point, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and compelled him to quit the army.

"The remainder of the life of General Putnam was passed in quiet retirement with his family. He experienced few interruptions in his bodily health, (except the paralytic debility with which he was afflicted,) retained full possession of his mental faculties, and enjoyed the society of his friends

\*Allen's Biographical Dictionary. †Life of Putnam.

until the 17th of May, 1790, when he was violently attacked with an inflammatory disease. Satisfied from the first that it would prove mortal, he was calm and resigned, and welcomed the approach of death with joy, as a messenger sent to call him from a life of toil to everlasting rest. On the 19th of May, 1790, he ended a life which had been spent in cultivating and defending the soil of his birth, aged 72 years."

The late Rev. Dr. Dwight, President of Yale Collège, who knew General Putnam intimately, has portrayed his character faithfully in the following inscription, which is engraven on his tomb :—

Sacred be this Monument  
to the memory  
of  
ISRAEL PUTNAM, ESQ.  
senior Major-General in the  
armies of the  
United States of America ;  
who  
was born at Salem,  
in the Province of Massachusetts,  
on the 7th day of January,  
A. D. 1718,  
and died  
on the 19th of May,  
A. D. 1790.  
Passenger,  
if thou art a Soldier,  
drop a tear over the dust of a  
Hero, who,  
ever attentive to the  
lives and happiness of his men,  
dared to lead  
where any dared to follow :  
if a Patriot,  
remember the distinguished and  
gallant services rendered  
thy country by the  
Patriot who sleeps beneath this  
marble :  
if thou art honest, generous and  
worthy, render a cheerful



tribute of respect to  
a man, whose  
generosity was singular, whose  
honesty was proverbial ;  
who  
raised himself to universal  
esteem, and offices of  
eminent distinction,  
by personal worth,  
and a useful  
life.

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**PHILIP SCHUYLER,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. SCHUYLER was a native of New York, a member of one of the most respectable families in that state, and highly merits the character of an intelligent and meritorious officer. As a private gentleman he was dignified but courteous, his manners urbane, and his hospitality unbounded. He was justly considered as one of the most distinguished champions of liberty, and his noble mind soared above despair, even at a period when he experienced injustice from the public, and when darkness and gloom overspread the land. He was able, prompt, and decisive, and his conduct, in every branch of duty, marked his active industry and rapid execution.

He received his commission from congress, June 19th, 1776, and was ordered to take command of the expedition against Canada ; but, being taken sick, the command devolved upon Gen. Montgomery. On his recovery, he devoted his time, and with the assistance of Gen. St. Clair, used every effort to stay the progress of a veteran and numerous army under Burgoyne, who had commenced his march from Canada, on the bold attempt of forming a junction at Albany with Sir Henry Clinton.

The duties of Gen. Schuyler now became laborious, intricate and complicated. On his arrival at head-quarters he found the army of the north not only too weak for the objects intrusted to it, but also badly supplied with arms, clothes and provisions. From a spy he obtained informa-

tion that General Burgoyne had arrived at Quebec, and was to take command of the British force on their contemplated expedition.

"A few days removed the doubts which might have existed respecting the intentions of Burgoyne. It was understood that his army was advancing towards the lakes.

General Schuyler was sensible of the danger which threatened his department, and made every exertion to meet it. He visited in person the different posts, used the utmost activity in obtaining supplies of provisions to enable them to hold out in the event of a siege, and proceeded to Albany both for the purpose of attending to the supplies and of expediting the march of Nixon's brigade, whose arrival was expected; when he received intelligence from Gen. St. Clair, who was intrusted with the defence of Ticonderoga, that Burgoyne had appeared before that place.

In the course of the preceding winter, a plan for penetrating to the Hudson from Canada by the way of the lakes, was completely digested, and its most minute parts arranged in the cabinet of St. James. Gen. Burgoyne, who assisted in forming it, was entrusted with its execution, and was to lead a formidable army against Ticonderoga, as soon as the season would permit. At the same time, a smaller party, under Col. St. Legar, composed of Canadians, new raised Americans, and a few Europeans, aided by a powerful body of Indians, was to march from Oswego, to enter the country by the way of Mohawk, and to join the grand army on the Hudson.

The force assigned for this service was such as the General himself deemed sufficient; and, as it was the favorite plan of the minister, no circumstance was omitted which could give to the numbers employed their utmost possible efficacy. The troops were furnished with every military equipment which the service required; the assisting general officers were of the first reputation, and the train of artillery, was perhaps, the most powerful ever annexed to an army not more numerous."\*

But valor, perseverance and industry could avail nothing against such vast numbers as now assailed the northern army. Ticonderoga was evacuated, and stores, artillery, and military equipage, to an immense amount, fell into the hands of the enemy.

"Knowing the inferiority of his numbers, and that he

could only hope to save his army by the rapidity of his march, General St. Clair reached Charleston, thirty miles from Ticonderoga, on the night succeeding the evacuation of the fort.

On the 7th of July, at Stillwater, on his way to Ticonderoga, General Schuyler was informed of the evacuation of that place; and on the same day, at Saratoga, the total loss of the stores at Skeensborough, was also reported to him. —From General St. Clair he had heard nothing, and the most serious fears were entertained for the army commanded by that officer. His force after being joined by Col. Long, consisted of about fifteen hundred continental troops, and the same number of militia. They were dispirited by defeat, without tents, badly armed, and had lost a great part of their stores and baggage. That part of the country was generally much alarmed, and even those who were well affected discovered, as is usual in such circumstances, more inclination to take care of themselves, than to join the army.

In this gloomy state of things, it is impossible that any officer could have used more diligence or judgment than was displayed by Schuyler.

After the evacuation of Fort Anne, Burgoyne found it absolutely necessary to suspend for a time all further pursuit, and to give his army some refreshment.

In the present state of things, unable even to look the enemy in the face, it was of unspeakable importance to the American general to gain time. This short and unavoidable interval from action, therefore, was seized by Schuyler, whose head quarters were at Fort Edward, and used to the utmost advantage.

The country between Skeensborough and Fort Edward was almost entirely unsettled, covered with thick woods, of a surface extremely rough, and much intersected with creeks and morasses. As far as Fort Anne, Wood-creek was navigable with batteaux; and artillery, military stores, provisions, and heavy baggage might be transported up it.

The first moments of rest, while Burgoyne was reassembling his forces at Skeensborough, were employed by Schuyler in destroying the navigation of Wood-creek by sinking numerous impediments in its course; and in breaking up the bridges, and otherwise rendering impassible the roads over which the British army must necessarily march. He



was also indefatigable in driving all the live stock out of the way, and in bringing from Fort George to Fort Edward, ammunition and other military stores which had been deposited at that place, of which his army was in much need, and which it was essential to bring away before the British could remove their gun-boats and artillery into the lake, and possess themselves of the fort.

While thus endeavoring to obstruct the march of the enemy, he was not inattentive to the best means of strengthening his own army. Re-inforcements of regular troops were earnestly solicited. The militia of New-England and New-York were called for, and all his influence in the surrounding country was exerted to reanimate the people, and to prevent their defection from the American cause.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga was a shock for which no part of the United States was prepared. Neither the strength of the invading army nor of the garrison, had been any where understood. The opinion was common that no re-enforcements had arrived at Quebec that spring, in which case it was believed that no more than five thousand men could be spared from the defence of Canada. Those new raised regiments of New-England and New-York, which had been allotted to the northern department, had been reported, and were believed by the commander in chief, and by congress, as well as by the community at large, to contain a much greater number of effectives than they were found actually to comprehend. In addition to these, the officer commanding the garrison, was empowered to call to his aid such bodies of militia as he might deem necessary for the defence of his post. A very few days before the place was invested, General Schuyler, from an inspection of the muster rolls, had stated the garrison to amount to five thousand men, and the supply of provisions to be abundant. When, therefore, it was understood that a place, on the fortifications of which much money and labor had been expended ; which was considered as the key to the whole western country, and supposed to contain a garrison nearly equal to the invading army, had been abandoned without a siege ; that an immense train of artillery, consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight pieces, and all the baggage, military stores, and provisions, had either fallen into the hands of the enemy, or been destroyed ; that the army on its retreat had been attacked, defeated, and dispersed ; astonishment pervaded all ranks of men ; and the conduct of the officers was almost universally condemn-

ed. Congress directed a recall of all the generals of the department, and an inquiry into their conduct. Through New-England especially, the most malignant aspersions were cast on them ; and General Schuyler, who, from some unknown cause, had never been viewed with favor in that part of the continent, was involved in the common charge of treachery, to which this accumulation of unlooked for calamity was very generally attributed by the mass of the people.

On the representations of General Washington, the recall of the officers was suspended until he should be of opinion that the state of things would admit of such a measure ; and on a very full inquiry afterwards made into the conduct of the generals, they were acquitted of all blame.

When the resolutions were passed, directing an inquiry into the conduct of Schuyler and St. Clair, appointing a committee to report on the mode of conducting the inquiry, and, in the meanwhile, recalling them and all the brigadiers who had served in that department, General Washington was requested to name a successor to Schuyler. On his expressing a wish to decline this nomination, and representing the inconvenience of removing all the general officers ; Gates was again directed to repair thither, and take the command ; and the resolution to recall the brigadiers was suspended, until the commander in chief should be of opinion that it might be carried into effect with safety.

Schuyler retained the command until the arrival of Gates, which was about the 21st of August, and continued his exertions to restore the affairs of the department, which had been so much depressed by the losses consequent on the evacuation of Ticonderoga. That officer felt acutely the disgrace of being recalled in this critical and interesting state of the campaign. " It is," said he in a letter to the commander in chief, " matter of extreme chagrin to me, to be deprived of the command at a time when, soon if ever, we shall probably be enabled to face the enemy ; when we are on the point of taking ground\* where they must attack to a disadvantage, should our force be inadequate to facing them in the field ; when an opportunity will in all probability occur, in which I might evince that I am not what congress have too plainly insinuated by the resolution taking the command from me."

\* The islands on the north of the Mohawk.

If error be attributed to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, certainly no portion of it was committed by Schuyler. His removal from the command was probably unjust and severe, as the measure respected himself."\*

The patriotism and magnanimity displayed by the ex-general, on this occasion, does him high honor. All that could have been effected, to impede the progress of the British army, had been done already. Bridges were broken up, cause-ways destroyed, trees felled in every direction to retard the conveyance of stores and artillery.

"On Gates' arrival, General Schuyler, without the slightest indication of ill-humor, resigned his command, communicated all the intelligence he possessed, and put every interesting paper into his hands, simply adding, 'I have done all that could be done, as far as the means were in my power, to injure the enemy, and to inspire confidence in the soldiers of our own army, and I flatter myself with some success; but the palm of victory is denied me, and it is left to you, General, to reap the fruits of my labors. I will not fail, however, to second your views; and my devotion to my country will cause me with alacrity to obey all your orders.' He performed his promise, and faithfully did his duty, till the surrender of Burgoyne put an end to the contest.

Another anecdote is recorded to his honor. • Gen. Burgoyne, dining with Gen. Gates immediately after the convention of Saratoga, and hearing General Schuyler named among the officers presented to him, thought it necessary to apologize for the destruction of his elegant mansion a few days before, by his orders. 'Make no excuses, General,' was the reply, 'I feel myself *more than compensated* by the pleasure of meeting you at this table.' "†

The court of inquiry, instituted on the conduct of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, resulted with the highest honor to them.

Gen. Schuyler, though not invested with any distinct command, continued to render important services in the military transactions of New-York, until the close of the war.

He was a member of the old congress; and represented the state of New-York in the senate of the United States, when the present government commenced its operations. In 1797 he was again appointed a senator.

\* Marshall's Life of Washington.  
Garden's Anecdotes.



He died at Albany, November 18th, 1804, in the seventy-third year of his age.

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### JOHN STARK,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

GENERAL STARK was a native of New-Hampshire, and was born in Londonderry, August 17th, 1728. From his early youth he had been accustomed to the alarm of war, having lived in that part of the country which was continually subject to the incursions of the savages. While a child he was captured by them, and adopted as one of their own; but after a few years was restored.

Arrived at manhood, his manners were plain, honest and severe; excellently calculated for the benefit of society in the private walks of life: and as a courageous and heroic soldier, he is entitled to a high rank among those who have been crowned with unfading laurels, and to whom a large share of glory is justly due. He was captain of a company of rangers in the provincial service, during the French war in 1755.

From the commencement of the difficulties with the mother country, until the closing scene of the revolution, our country found in General Stark one of its most resolute, independent and persevering defenders. The first call of his country found him ready. When the report of Lexington battle reached him, he was engaged at work in his saw-mill: fired with indignation and a martial spirit, he immediately seized his musket, and with a band of heroes proceeded to Cambridge. The morning after his arrival he received a colonel's commission, and availing himself of his own popularity, and the enthusiasm of the day, in two hours he enlisted eight hundred men. On the memorable 17th of June, at Breed's Hill, Colonel Stark, at the head of his back-woodsmen of New-Hampshire, poured on the enemy that deadly fire from a sure aim, which effected such remarkable destruction in their ranks, and compelled them twice to retreat. During the whole of this dreadful conflict, Colonel Stark evinced that consummate bravery and intrepid zeal, which entitle his name to perpetual remembrance.

His spirit pervaded his native state, and excited them to the most patriotic efforts. The British General Burgoyne, in one of his letters, observes,—“That the Hampshire Grants, almost unknown in the last war, now abound in the most *active* and most *rebellious* race on the continent, and hang like a gathering storm upon my left.”

Distinct from his efforts in rallying the energies of his native state, he obtained great credit in the active operations of the field. At that gloomy period of the revolution, the retreat of Washington through New-Jersey in 1776, when the saviour of our country, apparently deserted of Heaven and by his country, with the few gallant spirits who gathered the closer around him in that dark hour, precipitately fled before an imperious and victorious enemy—it was on this occasion, that the persevering valor of Stark enrolled him among the firm and resolute defenders of their country ; and, with them, entitles him to her unceasing gratitude.

But as he fearlessly shared with Washington the dark and gloomy night of defeat, so also he participated with him in the joy of a bright morning of victory and hope. In the successful enterprise against Trenton, Stark, then a Colonel, acted a conspicuous part, and covered himself with glory. General Wilkinson in his memoirs says,—“I must not withhold due praise from the dauntless Stark, who dealt death wherever he found resistance, and broke down all opposition before him.”

Soon after this affair, Colonel Stark, from some supposed injustice towards him on the part of congress, quitted the continental service, and returned to New-Hampshire.

“When he was urged by the government of New-Hampshire to take the command of their militia, he refused, unless he should be at liberty to serve or not, under a continental officer, as he should judge proper. It was not a time for debate, and it was known that the militia would follow wherever Stark would lead. The assembly therefore invested him with a separate command, and gave him orders to “repair to Charlestown, on Connecticut River ; there to consult with a committee of the New-Hampshire Grants, respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions ; to take the command of the militia, and march into the Grants ; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new state, or any other of the states, or of the United States, or separately, as it should appear expedient to

him ; for the protection of the people, and the annoyance of the enemy.”\*

Agreeably to his orders, Stark proceeded in a few days to Charlestown ; his men very readily followed ; and as fast as they arrived, he sent them forward to join the troops of Vermont under Colonel Warner, who had taken his situation at Manchester. At that place he joined Warner with about 800 men from New-Hampshire, and found another body of men from Vermont, who put themselves under his command ; and he was at the head of fourteen hundred men. Most of them had been in the two former campaigns, and well officered ; and were in every respect a body of very good troops. Schuyler repeatedly urged Stark to join the troops under his command ; but he declined complying. He was led to this conduct not only by the reasons which have been mentioned, but by a difference of opinion as to the best method of opposing Burgoyne. Schuyler wished to collect all the American troops in the front, to prevent Burgoyne from marching on to Albany. Stark was of opinion that the surest way to check Burgoyne was to have a body of men on his rear ; ready to fall upon him in that quarter, whenever a favorable opportunity should present.—The New-England militia had not formed a high opinion of Schuyler, as a general ; and Stark meant to keep himself in a situation, in which he might embrace any favorable opportunity for action, either in conjunction with him, or otherwise ; and with that view intended to hang on the rear of the British troops, and embrace the first opportunity which should present, to make an attack upon that quarter. But Stark assured Schuyler that he would join in any measures necessary to promote the public good, but wished to avoid any thing that was not consistent with his own honor ; and if it was thought necessary, he would march to his camp. He wrote particularly, that he would lay aside all private resentment, when it appeared in opposition to the public good. But in the midst of these protestations, he was watching for an opportunity to discover his courage and patriotism, by falling upon some part of Burgoyne’s army.

While the American army was thus assuming a more respectable appearance, General Burgoyne was making very slow advances towards Albany. From the twenty-eighth of July to the fifteenth of August, the British Army was

\* Belknap’s History of New-Hampshire.



continually employed in bringing forward batteaux, provisions and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River; a distance of not more than eighteen miles. The labor was excessive: the Europeans were but little acquainted with the methods of performing it to advantage, and the effect was in no degree equivalent to the expense of labor and time. With all the efforts that Burgoyne could make, encumbered with his artillery and baggage, his labors were inadequate to the purpose of supplying the army with provisions for its daily consumption, and the establishment of the necessary magazines. And after his utmost exertions for fifteen days, there was not above four days' provisions in the store, nor above ten batteaux in Hudson's River.

In such circumstances, the British general found that it would be impossible to procure sufficient supplies of provisions by the way of Fort George, and determined to replenish his own magazines, at the expense of those of the Americans. Having received information that a large quantity of stores were laid up at Bennington, and guarded only by the militia, he formed the design of surprising that place: and was made to believe that as soon as a detachment of the royal army should appear in that quarter, it would receive effectual assistance from a large body of loyalists, who only waited for the appearance of a support, and would in that event come forward and aid the royal cause. Full of these expectations, he detached Colonel Baum, a German officer, with a select body of troops, to surprise the place. His force consisted of about five hundred regular troops, some Canadians, and more than one hundred Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operations, and to be ready to take advantage of the success of the detachment, the royal army moved along the east bank of Hudson's River and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over the river, by which the army passed to that place. With a view to support Baum, if it should be found necessary, Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light-infantry and chasseurs, were posted at Battenkill.

General Stark having received information that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Greg, on August the thirteenth, with a party of two hundred men, to stop their progress. Towards night he was

informed by express that a large body of regulars was in the rear of the Indians, and advancing towards Bennington. On this intelligence, Stark drew together his brigade, and the militia that were at hand, and sent on to Manchester to Colonel Warner, to bring on his regiment ; he sent expresses at the same time to the neighboring militia, to join him with the utmost speed. On the morning of the fourteenth he marched with his troops, and at the distance of seven miles he met Greg on the retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark drew up his troops in order of battle ; but the enemy coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground.—Baum perceived the Americans were too strong to be attacked with his present force, and sent an express to Burgoyne with an account of his situation, and to have Breyman march immediately to support him. In the mean time small parties of the Americans kept up a skirmish with the enemy, killed and wounded thirty of them, with two of their Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves.—The ground the Americans had taken, was unfavorable for a general action, and Stark retreated about a mile and encamped. A council of war was held, and it was agreed to send two detachments upon the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops should make an attack upon their front. The next day the weather was rainy, and though it prevented a general action, there were frequent skirmishings in small parties, which proved favorable and encouraging to the Americans.

On August the sixteenth, in the morning, Stark was joined by Colonel Symonds and a body of militia from Berkshire, and proceeded to attack the enemy, agreeably to the plan which had been concerted. Colonel Baum in the mean time had entrenched, on an advantageous piece of ground near St. Koicks mills, on a branch of Hoosic River ; and rendered his post as strong as his circumstances and situation would admit. Colonel Nichols was detached with two hundred men to the rear of his left, Col. Herrick, with three hundred men to the rear of his right ; both were to join, and then make the attack. Colonel Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred more were ordered on the right, and one hundred were advanced towards the front to draw the attention of the enemy that way. About three o'clock in the afternoon the troops had taken their situation, and were ready to commence the action. While Nichols and Herrick were bringing their troops together, the Indians

were alarmed at the prospect, and pushed off between the two corps ; but received a fire as they were passing, by which three of them were killed, and two wounded. Nichols then began the attack, and was followed by all the other divisions ; those in the front immediately advanced, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours, and was like one continued peal of thunder. Baum made a brave defence ; and the German dragoons, after they had expended their ammunition, led by their colonel, charged with their swords, but they were soon overpowered. Their works were carried on all sides, their two pieces of cannon were taken, Colonel Baum himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and all his men, except a few who had escaped into the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners. Having completed the business by taking the whole party, the militia began to disperse, and look out for plunder. But in a few minutes Stark received information that a large re-inforcement was on their march, and within two miles of him. Fortunately at that moment Colonel Warner came up with his regiment from Manchester. This brave and experienced officer commanded a regiment of continental troops, which had been raised in Vermont. Mortified that he had not been in the former engagement, he instantly led on his men against Breyman, and began the second engagement. Stark collected the militia as soon as possible and pushed on to his assistance. The action became general, and the battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset, when the Germans were forced to give way, and were pursued till dark.—They left their two field-pieces behind, and a considerable number were made prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantages of the evening and night, to which alone their escape was ascribed.

In these actions the Americans took four brass field-pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, four ammunition waggons, and about seven hundred prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements. Two hundred and seven men were found dead upon the spot, the numbers of wounded were unknown. The loss of the Americans was but small ; thirty were slain, and about forty were wounded. Stark was not a little pleased to have so fair an opportunity to vindicate his own conduct. He had now shown that no neglect from congress had made him disaffected to the American cause, and that he had rendered a much more importa-



ant service than he could have done by joining Schuyler, and remaining inactive in his camp. Congress embraced the opportunity to assign to him his rank, and though he had not given to them any account of his victory, or wrote to them at all upon the subject, on October the fourth, they resolved, —“ That the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark of the New-Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington : and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the United States.” And never were thanks more deserved, or more wisely given to a military officer.”\*

In his official account of the affair, Gen. Stark thus writes :—“ It lasted two hours, *the hottest I ever saw in my life* ; it represented one continual clap of thunder ; however, the enemy were obliged to give way, and leave their field pieces, and all their baggage behind them ; they were all environed within two breast-works with artillery ; *but our martial courage proved too strong for them*. I then gave orders to rally again, in order to secure the victory ; but in a few minutes was informed that there was a large reinforcement on their march, within two miles. Colonel Warner’s regiment, luckily coming up at the moment, renewed the attack with fresh vigor. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance ; the battle continued obstinate on both sides until sunset ; the enemy was obliged to retreat ; we pursued them till dark, and had day lasted an hour longer, should have taken the whole body of them.”

“ On what small events does the popular humor and military success depend ? The capture of one thousand Germans by General Washington at Trenton, had served to wake up, and save the whole continent. The exploit of Stark at Bennington, operated with the same kind of influence, and produced a similar effect. This victory was the first event that had proved encouraging to the Americans in the northern department, since the death of Gen. Montgomery. Misfortune had succeeded misfortune, and defeat had followed defeat from that period until now. The present instance was the first, in which victory had quitted the royal standard, or seemed even to be wavering. She was now found with the American arms, and the effect seemed

\* Williams’ Vermont.

in fact to be greater than the cause. It raised the spirit of the country to an uncommon degree of animation ; and by shewing the militia what they could perform, rendered them willing and desirous to turn out and try what fortunes would await their exertions. It had a still greater effect on the royal army. The British generals were surprised to hear that an enemy, whom they had contemplated with no other feelings than those of contempt, should all at once wake up, and discover much of the spirit of heroism. To advance upon the mouth of cannon, to attack fortified lines, to carry strong entrenchments, were exploits which they supposed belonged exclusively to the armies of kings. To see a body of American militia, ill dressed, but little disciplined, without cannon, armed only with farmer's guns without bayonets, and who had been accustomed to fly at their approach; that such men should force the entrenchments, capture the cannon, kill and make prisoners of a large body of the royal army, was a matter of indignation, astonishment, and surprise."\*

"General Stark volunteered his services under Gen. Gates at Saratoga, and assisted in the council which stipulated the surrender of General Burgoyne, nor did he relinquish his valuable services till he could greet his native country as an Independent Empire. Gen. Stark was of the middle stature, not formed by nature to exhibit an erect soldierly mien. His manners were frank, and unassuming, but he manifested a peculiar sort of eccentricity and negligence, which precluded all display of personal dignity, and seemed to place him among those of ordinary rank in life. His character as a private citizen was unblemished, and he was ever held in respect. For the last few years of his life, he enjoyed a pecuniary bounty from the government. He lived to the advanced age of ninety-three years eight months and twenty four days, and died May 8th, 1822."†

\*Williams' Vermont.

† Thatcher's Journal.

**ARTHUR ST. CLAIR,**

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. ST. CLAIR was a soldier from his birth. At an early age, while the independent states were yet British colonies, he entered the royal American army, and was commissioned as an ensign. He was actively engaged, during the French war, in the army of Gen. Wolf, and was in the battle carrying a pair of colours, in which that celebrated commander was slain, on the Plains of Abraham. He was highly estimated, by the distinguished commanders under whom he served, as a young officer of merit, capable of obtaining a high grade of military reputation.

"After the peace of '63, he sold out, and entered into trade, for which the generosity of his nature utterly disqualified him; he, of course, soon became disgusted with a profitless pursuit, and having married, after several vicissitudes of fortune, he located himself in Ligonier valley, west of the Alleghany Mountain, and near the ancient route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.

In this situation the American revolution found him, surrounded by a rising family, in the enjoyment of ease and independence, with the fairest prospects of affluent fortune, the foundation of which had been already established by his intelligence, industry and enterprize.

From this peaceful abode, these sweet domestic enjoyments, and the flattering prospects which accompanied them, he was drawn by the claims of a troubled country. A man known to have been a military officer, and distinguished for knowledge and integrity, could not, in those times be concealed even by his favorite mountains, and therefore, without application or expectation on his part, he received the commission of a Colonel in the month of December, 1775, together with a letter from President Hancock, pressing him to repair immediately to Philadelphia. He obeyed the summons, and took leave not only of his wife and children, but in effect of his fortune, to embark in the cause of liberty and the united colonies.—In six weeks he completed the levy of a regiment of 750 men; six companies of which marched in season to join our troops before Quebec; he followed with the other four in May, and after the unlucky affair at



Three Rivers, by his counsel to Gen. Sullivan at Sorel, he saved the army we had in Canada."\*

The active and persevering habits of St. Clair, and the military knowledge, as displayed by him during the Canadian campaign, brought him into high repute, and he was subsequently promoted to the rank of major-general. On all occasions he supported an honorable distinction, and shared largely in the confidence and friendship of the commander in chief.

The misfortunes attending the early military operations of the northern campaign of 1777, did not fail to bring reproach upon the characters of those who conducted it. The loss of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, and the subsequent retreat of Gen. St. Clair, cast a gloom over the minds of patriotic men, and in their consequences gave rise to the malignant passions of the human heart, which were put in motion to depreciate the worth, impair the influence, and destroy the usefulness of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair. It was proclaimed that they were traitors to their country, and acted in concert with the enemy; and the ignorant and the credulous were led to believe that they had received an immense treasure in *silver balls*, fired by Burgoyne into St. Clair's camp, and by his order picked up and transmitted to Schuyler, at Fort George!! Extravagant as was this tale, it was implicitly believed.

At the time of the evacuation of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, which so much exasperated the people, Gen. Schuyler was absent upon a different duty, and was totally ignorant of the fact, though the commanding officer in that district. Gen. St. Clair, in accordance with the opinion of a council of war, ordered the movement on his own responsibility, and thereby saved the state of New-York from British domination, and his gallant army from capture. Stung with the injustice of a charge against Gen. Schuyler, for an act for which he alone was responsible, he magnanimously wrote the following letter to the Hon. John Jay, on the subject:—

“*Moses' Creek, July 25, 1775.*”

“SIR,

“General Schuyler was good enough to read to me part of a letter he received last night from you. I cannot recollect

lect that any of my officers ever asked my reasons for leaving Ticonderoga ; but as I have found the measure much decried, I have often expressed myself in this manner :—  
“ That as to myself I was perfectly easy ; I was conscious of the uprightness and propriety of my conduct, and despised the vague censure of an uninformed populace ;” but had no allusion to an order from Gen. Schuyler for my justification, because no such order existed.

“ The calumny thrown on Gen. Schuyler, on account of that matter, has given me great uneasiness. I assure you, Sir, there never was any thing more cruel and unjust ; for he knew nothing of the matter until it was over, more than you did at Kingston. It was done in consequence of a consultation with the other general officers, without the possibility of General Schuyler’s concurrence ; and had the opinion of that council been contrary to what it was, it would nevertheless have taken place, because I knew it to be impossible to defend the post with our numbers.

“ In my letter to congress from Fort Edward, in which I gave them an account of the retreat, is this paragraph :—  
‘ It was my original design to retreat to this place, that I might be betwixt General Burgoyne and the inhabitants, and that the militia might have something in this quarter to collect to. It is now effected, and the militia are coming in, so that I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked, and I may have the satisfaction to experience, that *although I have lost a post, I have eventually saved a state.*’

“ Whether my conjecture is right, or not, is uncertain ; but had our army been made prisoners, which it certainly would have been, the state of New-York would have been much more exposed at present.

“ I proposed to Gen. Schuyler, on my arrival at Fort Edward, to have sent a note to the printer, to assure the people he had no part in abandoning what they considered their strong holds ; he thought it was not so proper at that time, but it is no more than what I owe to truth and to him to declare, that he was totally unacquainted with the matter : and I should be very glad that this letter, or any part of it you may think proper to communicate, may convince the unbelieving. Simple unbelief is easily and soon convinced,

but when malice or envy occasions it, it is needless to attempt conviction.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very humble,

"and obedient servant.

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

"Hon. John Jay."

Congress, yielding to personal prejudices, and the popular outcry, produced by the evacuation of that post, they passed the following resolutions:—

"*Resolved*, That an inquiry be made into the reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the general officers who were in the northern department at the time of the evacuation.

"*Resolved*, That Major-General St Clair, who commanded at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, forthwith repair to head-quarters."

The conduct of congress towards this respectable, able and faithful servant of the republic, was considered altogether unwarrantable, and, in the result, drew great and deserved odium on its authors.

After holding St. Clair in cruel suspense for more than a year, he was permitted to appear before a general court martial, which passed the following sentence of acquittal:—

"*Quaker-Hill, Sept, 29, 1778.*

"The court having duly considered the charges against Major-General St. Clair, and the evidence, are *unanimously* of opinion, that he is NOT GUILTY of either of the charges preferred against him, and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them with the HIGHEST HONOR.

"B. LINCOLN,

Maj. Gen. and President.

From this time, Gen. St. Clair continued in the service of his country until the close of the war. Soon after the establishment of the national government, Gen. St. Clair was appointed Governor of the North West Territory. But he did not long enjoy the calm and quiet of civil life. The repeated success of the Indians, on the western frontier,



had emboldened them to repeat and extend their incursions to an alarming degree.

“The frontiers were in a most deplorable situation. For their relief, congress sanctioned the raising of an additional regiment; and the President was authorized to cause a body of two thousand men, under the denomination of levies, to be raised for six months, and to appoint a major-general, and a brigadier-general, to continue in command as long as he should think their services necessary. St. Clair, who was then governor of the territory, north-west of the Ohio, and, as such, officially the negotiator with the adjacent Indians, was appointed commander-in-chief of this new military establishment. Though every exertion was made to recruit and forward the troops, they were not assembled in the neighborhood of Fort Washington, until the month of September; nor was the establishment then completed.

The object of the expedition was, to destroy the Indian villages, on the Miami; to expel the savages from that country; and to connect it with the Ohio, by a chain of posts.—The regulars, proceeding northwardly, from the Ohio, established, at proper intervals, two forts, one named Hamilton, and the other Jefferson, as places of deposit and security. These were garrisoned with a small force; and the main body of the army, about two thousand men, advanced towards the Indian settlements. As they approached the enemy, about sixty militia-men deserted, in a body. To prevent the mischiefs, likely to result from so bad an example, Major Hamtramck was despatched, with the first regiment, to pursue the deserters. The army was reduced, by this detachment, to about fourteen hundred effective men; but, nevertheless, proceeded on their march, and encamped, on elevated ground, about 15 miles south of the Miami. The Indians commenced an attack on the militia in front. These instantly fled in disorder, and rushing into the camp, occasioned confusion among the regulars. The officers of the latter exerted themselves to restore order; but with very inconsiderable success. The Indians improved the advantage they had gained. They were seldom seen, but in the act of springing from one cover to another; for they fired from the ground, or under shelter of the woods. Advancing in this manner, close to the lines of their adversaries, and almost to the mouths of their field-pieces, they continued the contest, with great firmness and intrepidity.

Gen. St. Clair, though suffering under a painful disease,

and unable to mount or dismount a horse, without assistance, delivered his orders with judgment, and perfect self-possession. The troops had not been in service long enough to acquire discipline ; and the want of it increased the difficulty of reducing them to order, after they had been broken. The officers, in their zeal to change the face of affairs, exposed themselves to imminent danger, and fell in great numbers. Attempts were made to retrieve the fortune of the day, by the use of the bayonet. Col. Darke made a successful charge on a part of the enemy, and drove them four hundred yards ; but they soon rallied. In the mean time, Gen. Butler was mortally wounded. Almost all the artillerists were killed, and their guns seized, by the enemy. Col. Darke again charged with the bayonet, and the artillery was recovered. While the Indians were driven back in one point, they kept up their fire from every other, with fatal effect. Several corps charged the Indians with partial success ; but no general impression was made upon them.

To save the remnant of his army, was all that could be done by St. Clair. After some hours of sharp fighting, a retreat took place. The Indians pursued, for about four miles, when their avidity for plunder called them back to the camp, to share the spoil. The vanquished troops fled about thirty miles, to Fort Jefferson. There they met Major Hamtramck, with the first regiment ; but this additional force would not warrant an attempt to turn about, and face the victors. The wounded were left there, and the army retreated to Fort Washington.

The loss in this defeat was great ; and particularly so among the officers. Thirty eight of these were killed on the field ; and five hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates were slain or missing. Twenty-one commissioned officers and upwards of one hundred privates were wounded. Among the dead was the gallant General Butler, who had repeatedly distinguished himself in the war of the revolution. Several other brave officers, who had successfully fought for the independence of their country, fell on this fatal day. Among the wounded, were Lieutenant-Colonels Gibson and Darke, Major Butler, and Adjutant Sargent, officers of distinguished merit. Neither the number of Indians engaged, nor their loss, could be exactly ascertained. The former was supposed to be from one thou-

sand to fifteen hundred, and the latter far short of what was sustained by St. Clair's army."\*

Shortly after this unfortunate expedition, Gen. St. Clair resigned his commission in the army, and retired into private life, and thus remained until the close of his life, August 31st, 1818.

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### JOHN SULLIVAN,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL SULLIVAN was a native of New-Hampshire, where he resided before the revolution, and attained to a high degree of eminence in the profession of the law. He was a member of the first congress in 1774, but on the commencement of hostilities, preferring a military commission, he relinquished the fairest prospects of fortune and fame, and appeared among the most ardent patriots, and intrepid warriors.

In 1775 he was appointed a brigadier-general, and immediately joined the army at Cambridge, and soon after obtained the command on Winter Hill. The next year he was ordered to Canada, and on the death of Gen. Thomas, the command of the army devolved on him. The situation of the army in that quarter, was inexpressibly distressing; destitute of clothing, dispirited by defeat, and constant fatigue, and a large proportion of the troops sick with the small pox. "By his great exertions and judicious management he meliorated the condition of the army, and obtained general applause. On his retiring from that command, July 12, 1776, the field officers thus addressed him. "It is to you, sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear, and the grateful ejaculation of the sick. Your universal impartiality, will force the applause of the wearied soldier."

In August, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and soon after, was with Major-General Lord Stirling, captured by the British in the battle on Long-Island. General Sullivan being paroled, was sent by General Howe with a message to Congress, after which he returned to

\*Ramsay's United States.



New-York. In September he was exchanged for Major-General Prescott. We next find him in command of the right division of our troops, in the famous battle at Trenton, and he acquitted himself honorably on that ever memorable day.

In August, 1777, without the authority of congress, or the commander in chief, he planned and executed an expedition against the enemy on Staten Island. Though the enterprize was conducted with prudence and success in part, it was said by some to be less brilliant than might have been expected, under his favorable circumstances; and as that act was deemed a bold assumption of responsibility, and reports to his prejudice being in circulation, a court of inquiry was ordered to investigate his conduct. The result was an honorable acquittal, and congress resolved that the result so honorable to General Sullivan is highly pleasing to congress, and that the opinion of the court be published, in justification of that injured officer.

In the battles of Brandywine and at Germantown, in the autumn of 1777, General Sullivan commanded a division, and in the latter conflict his two aids were killed, and his own conduct was so conspicuously brave, that Gen. Washington, in his letter to congress, concludes with encomiums on the gallantry of Gen. Sullivan, and the whole right wing of the army, who acted immediately under the eye of his Excellency.

In August, 1778, General Sullivan was sole commander of an expedition to the island of Newport, in co-operation with the French fleet under the Count D'Estaing. The Marquis de La Fayette and Gen. Greene, volunteered their services on the occasion. The object of the expedition was defeated, in consequence of the French fleet being driven off by a violent storm. By this unfortunate event the enemy were encouraged to engage our army in battle, in which they suffered a repulse; and General Sullivan finally effected a safe retreat to the main. This retreat, so ably executed, without confusion, or the loss of baggage, or stores, increased the military reputation of General Sullivan, and redounds to his honor as a skilful commander.

The bloody tragedy, acted at Wyoming, in 1778, had determined the commander in chief, in 1779, to employ a large detachment from the continental army to penetrate into the heart of the Indian country, to chastise the hostile tribes and their white associates and adherents, for their cruel aggres-

sions on the defenceless inhabitants. The command of this expedition, was committed to Major-Gen. Sullivan, with express orders to destroy their settlements, to ruin their corps, and make such thorough devastations, as to render the country entirely uninhabitable for the present, and thus to compel the savages to remove to a greater distance from our frontiers.

Gen. Sullivan had under his command several brigadiers and a well chosen army, to which were attached a number of friendly Indian warriors.—With this force he penetrated about ninety miles through a horrid swampy wilderness and barren mountainous deserts, to Wyoming, on the Susquehanna River, thence by water to Tioga, and possessed himself of numerous towns and villages of the savages.

During this hazardous expedition, General Sullivan and his army encountered the most complicated obstacles, requiring the greatest fortitude and perseverance to surmount. He explored an extensive tract of country, and strictly executed the severe, but necessary orders he had received. A considerable number of Indians were slain, some were captured, their habitations were burnt and their plantations of corn and vegetables laid waste in the most effectual manner. “Eighteen villages, a number of detached buildings, one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and those fruits and vegetables, which conduce to the comfort and subsistence of man, were utterly destroyed. Five weeks were unremittingly employed in this work of devastation.”

On his return from the expedition, he and his army received the approbation of congress. It is remarked on this expedition, by the translator of M. Chastelleux's travels, an Englishman then resident in the United States, that the instructions given by Gen. Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern generals.

At the close of the campaign of 1779, General Sullivan, in consequence of impaired health, resigned his commission in the army. Congress, in accepting of his resignation, passed a resolve, thanking him for his past services. His military talents and bold spirit of enterprise were universally acknowledged. He was fond of display, and his personal appearance and dignified deportment commanded respect. After his resignation, he resumed his professional pursuits at the bar, and was much distinguished as a statesman, pol-

itician and patriot. He acquired very considerable proficiency in general literature, and an extensive knowledge of men and the world. He received from Harvard University, a degree of Master of Arts, and from the University of Dartmouth, a degree of Doctor of Laws. He was one of the convention who formed the state constitution for New-Hampshire, was chosen into the first council, and was afterwards elected chief magistrate in that state, and he held the office for three years. In September, 1789, he was appointed Judge of the District Court, for the district of New-Hampshire, and continued in the office till his death, in 1795.\*

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### SETH WARNER,

Colonel in the American Army.

“Among the persons who have performed important services to the state of Vermont, Col. Seth Warner deserves to be remembered with respect. He was born at Woodbury, in the Colony of Connecticut, about the year 1744, of honest and respectable parents. Without any other advantages for an education than what are to be found in the common schools of the town, he was early distinguished by the solidity and extent of his understanding. About the year 1763, his parents purchased a tract of land in Bennington, and soon after removed to that town with their family. In the uncultivated state of the country, in the fish, with which the rivers and ponds were furnished, and in the game, with which the woods abounded, young Warner found a variety of objects suited to his favorite inclinations and pursuits; and he soon became distinguished as a fortunate and indefatigable hunter.

His father, Captain Benjamin Warner, had a strong inclination to medicinal inquiries and pursuits; and agreeable to the state of things in new settlements, had to look for many of his medicines in the natural virtues of the plants and roots, that were indigenous to the country. His son Seth frequently attended him in these botanical excursions, contracted something of his father's taste for the business, and acquired more information of the nature and properties of



the indigenous plants and vegetables, than any other man in the country. By this kind of knowledge he became useful to the families in the new settlements, and administered relief in many cases, where no other medical assistance could at that time be procured. By such visits and practice, he became known to most of the families on the west side of the Green Mountains; and was generally esteemed by them a man highly useful, both on account of his information and humanity.

About the year 1763, a scene began to open, which gave a new turn to his active and enterprising spirit. The lands on which the settlements were made, had been granted by the governor of New-Hampshire. The government of New-York claimed jurisdiction to the eastward as far as Connecticut River; denied the authority of the governor of New-Hampshire to make any grants to the west of Connecticut River; and announced to the inhabitants, that they were within the territory of New-York, and had no legal title to the lands on which they had settled. The controversy became very serious between the two governments; and after some years spent in altercation, New-York procured a decision of George III. in their favor. This order was dated July 20, 1764, and declared "the western banks of the river Connecticut, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the 45th degree of northern latitude, to be the boundary line between the said two provinces of New-Hampshire and New-York." No sooner was this decree procured, than the governor of New-York proceeded to make new grants of the lands, which the settlers had before fairly bought of the crown, and which had been chartered to them in the king's name and authority by the royal governor of New-Hampshire. All became a scene of disorder and danger. The new patentees under New-York brought actions of ejectment against the settlers. The decisions of the courts at Albany were always in favor of the New-York Patentees; and nothing remained for the inhabitants but to buy their lands over again, or to give up the labors and earnings of their whole lives to the new claimers under titles from New-York.

In this scene of oppression and distress, the settlers discovered the firm and vigorous spirit of manhood. All that was left to them, was either to yield up their whole property to a set of unfeeling land-jobbers, or to defend themselves and property by force. They wisely and virtuously chose

the latter ; and by a kind of common consent, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner became their leaders. No man's abilities and talents could have been better suited to this business than Warner's. When the authority of New-York proceeded with an armed force to attempt to execute their laws, Warner met them with a body of Green Mountain Boys, properly armed, full of resolution, and so formidable in numbers and courage, that the governor of New-York was obliged to give up this method of proceeding. When the sheriff came to extend his executions, and eject the settlers from their farms, Warner would not suffer him to proceed. Spies were employed to procure intelligence, and promote division among the people : when any of them were taken, Warner caused them to be tried by some of the most discreet of the people ; and if declared guilty, to be tied to a tree and whipped. An officer came to take Warner by force ; he considered it as an affair of open hostility ; engaged, wounded, and disarmed the officer ; but, with the honor and spirit of a soldier, spared the life of the enemy he had subdued.— These services appeared in a very different light to the settlers, and to the government of New-York : the first considered him as an eminent patriot and hero ; to the other he appeared as the first of villains and rebels. To put an end to all further exertions, and to bring him to an exemplary punishment, the government of New-York, on March 9th, 1774, passed an act of outlawry against him ; and a proclamation was issued by W. Tryon, governor of New-York, offering a reward of fifty pounds to any person who should apprehend him. These proceedings of New-York were beheld by him with contempt ; and they had no other effect upon the settlers, than to unite them more firmly in their opposition to that government, and in their attachment to their own patriotic leader thus wantonly proscribed.

In services of so dangerous and important a nature, Warner was engaged from the year 1765, to 1775. That year a scene of the highest magnitude and consequence opened upon the world. On the 19th of April, the American war was begun by the British troops at Lexington. Happily for the country, it was commenced with such circumstances, of insolence and cruelty, as left no room for the people of America to doubt what was the course which they ought to pursue. The time was come, in which total subjection, or the horrors of war, must take place. All America preferred the latter ; and the people of the New-Hampshire

Grants immediately undertook to secure the British forts at Ticonderoga and Crown point. Allen and Warner immediately engaged in the business. Allen took the command, and Warner raised a body of excellent troops, in the vicinity of Bennington, and both marched against Ticonderoga. They surprised and took that fortress on the morning of the tenth of May; and Warner was sent the same day with a detachment of the troops to secure Crown Point. He effected the business, and secured the garrison, with all the war-like stores, for the use of the continent.

The same year Warner received a commission from congress to raise a regiment, to assist in the reduction of Canada. He engaged in the business with his usual spirit of activity; raised his regiment chiefly among his old acquaintance and friends, the Green Mountain Boys, and joined the army under the command of General Montgomery. The Honorable Samuel Safford of Bennington, was his lieutenant-colonel.—Their regiment conducted with great spirit, and acquired high applause, in the action at Longueil, in which the troops designed for the relief of St. Johns were totally defeated and dispersed, chiefly by the troops under the command of Colonel Warner. The campaign ended about the 20th of November, in the course of which Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Chamblee, St. Johns, Montreal, and a fleet of eleven sail of vessels had been captured by the American arms. No man in this campaign had acted with more spirit and enterprise than Col. Warner. The weather was now become severe, and Warner's men were too miserably clothed to bear a winter's campaign in the severe climate of Canada. They were accordingly now discharged by Montgomery, with particular marks of his respect, and the most affectionate thanks for their meritorious services.

Warner returned with his men to the New Hampshire Grants, but his mind was more than ever engaged in the cause of his country. Montgomery, with a part of his army, pressed on to Quebec, and on December 31st was slain in an attempt to carry the city by storm.—This event gave an alarm to all the northern part of the colonies; and it became necessary to raise a reinforcement to march to Quebec in the midst of winter. The difficulty of the business suited the genius and ardor of Warner's mind. He was at Woodbury in Connecticut when he heard the news of Montgomery's defeat and death: he instantly repaired to Bennington, raised a body of men, and marched in the



midst of winter to join the American troops at Quebec. The campaign during the winter proved extremely distressing to the Americans : in want of comfortable clothing, barracks and provision, most of them were taken by the small-pox, and several died. At the opening of the spring, in May 1776, a large body of British troops arrived at Quebec to relieve the garrison. The American troops were forced to abandon the blockade, with circumstances of great distress and confusion. Warner chose the most difficult part of the business, remaining always with the rear, picking up the lame and diseased, assisting and encouraging those who were the most unable to take care of themselves, and generally kept but a few miles in advance of the British, who were rapidly pursuing the retreating Americans from post to post. By steadily pursuing this conduct, he brought off most of the invalids ; and with this corps of the infirm and diseased, he arrived at Ticonderoga, a few days after the body of the army had taken possession of that post.

Highly approving his extraordinary exertions, the American Congress, on July 5, 1776, the day after they had declared independence, resolved to raise a regiment out of the troops which had served with reputation in Canada. Warner was appointed colonel, Safford lieutenant-colonel of this regiment ; and most of the other officers were persons who had been distinguished by their opposition to the claims and proceedings of New-York. By this appointment he was again placed in a situation perfectly agreeable to his inclination and genius ; and in conformity to his orders he repaired to Ticonderoga, where he remained till the close of the campaign.

On January 16, 1777, the convention of the New-Hampshire Grants declared the whole district to be a sovereign and independent state, to be known and distinguished ever after by the name of Vermont. The committee of safety in New-York were then sitting, and on January 20th, they announced the transaction to congress, complaining in high terms of the conduct of Vermont, censuring it as a dangerous revolt and opposition to lawful authority ; and at the same time remonstrating against the proceedings of congress in appointing Warner to the command of a regiment independent of the legislature, and within the bounds of that state ; “ especially, said they, as this Colonel Warner hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the legislature of this state, and hath been, on that account, proclaim-

ed an outlaw by the late government thereof. It is absolutely necessary to recall the commissions given to Col. Warner and the officers under him, as nothing else will do us justice." No measures were taken by congress at that time, either to interfere in the civil contest between the two states, or to remove the colonel from his command. Anxious to effect this purpose, the convention of New-York wrote further on the subject, on March 1st, and among other things declare, "that there was not the least probability that Col. Warner could raise such a number of men as would be an object of public concern." Congress still declined to dismiss so valuable an officer from their service. On June 23d, congress was obliged to take up the controversy between New-York and Vermont; but instead of proceeding to disband the colonel's regiment, on June 30th, they resolved, "that the reason which induced congress to form that corps, was, that many officers of different states who had served in Canada, and alleged that they could soon raise a regiment, but were then unprovided for, might be reinstated in the service of the United States." Nothing can give us a more just idea of the sentiments which the American congress entertained of the patriotic and military virtues of the colonel, than their refusing to give him up to the repeated solicitations and demands of so respectable and powerful a state, as that of New-York.

The American army stationed at Ticonderoga were forced to abandon that fortress, on July 6, 1777, in a very precipitate and irregular manner. The colonel with his regiment retreated along the western part of Vermont, through the towns of Orwell, Sudbury, and Hubbardton. At the last of these towns, the advanced corps of the British army overtook the rear of the American troops, on the morning of the 7th of July. The American army, all but part of three regiments, were gone forward; these were part of Hale's, Francis', and Warner's regiments. The enemy attacked them with superior numbers, and the highest prospect of success. Francis and Warner opposed them with great spirit and vigor; and no officers could have discovered more courage and firmness than they displayed through the whole action. Large re-enforcements of the enemy arriving, it became impossible to make any effectual opposition. Francis fell in a most honorable discharge of his duty. Hale surrendered with his regiment. Surrounded on every side by the enemy, but calm and undaunted, Colonel War-

ner fought his way through all opposition, brought off the troops that refused to capitulate with Hale, checked the enemy in their pursuit, and contrary to all expectation, arrived safe with his troops at Manchester. To the northward of that town the whole country was deserted. The colonel determined to make a stand at that place ; encouraged by his example and firmness, a body of the militia soon joined him ; and he was once more in a situation to protect the inhabitants, harass the enemy, and break up the advanced parties.

On the 16th of August, the vicinity of Bennington became the seat of a memorable battle. Colonel Baum had been despatched by General Burgoyne to attack the American troops and destroy the magazines at Bennington. General Stark, who commanded at that place, had intelligence of the approach of the enemy ; and sent orders on the morning of the 16th to Col. Warner at Manchester, to march immediately to his assistance. In the mean time Stark with the troops which were assembled at Bennington, had attacked the enemy under Col. Baum, and after a severe action had captured the whole body. Just as the action was finished, intelligence was received that a large re-inforcement of the enemy had arrived. Fatigued and exhausted by so long and severe an action, Stark was doubtful whether it was possible for his troops to enter immediately upon another battle with a fresh body of the enemy. At that critical moment Warner arrived with his troops from Manchester. Mortified that he had not been in the action, and determined to have some part in the glory of the day, he urged Stark immediately to commence another action. Stark consented, and the colonel instantly led on his men to battle.—The Americans rallied from every part of the field, and the second action became as fierce and decisive as the first. The enemy gave way in every direction ; great numbers of them were slain, and the rest saved themselves altogether by the darkness of the night. Stark ascribed the last victory very much to Colonels Warner and Herrick ; and spoke in the highest terms of their superior information and activity, as that to which he principally owed his success. The success at Bennington gave a decisive turn to the affairs of that campaign. Stark, Warner and the other officers, with their troops, joined the army under General Gates. Victory every where followed the attempts of the northern army : and the campaign terminated in the sur-



render of Burgoyne and his whole army, at Saratoga, on October 17, 1777.

The contest in the northern department being in a great measure decided by the capture of Burgoyne, Warner had no farther opportunity to discover his prowess in defence of his beloved state ; but served occasionally at different places on Hudson's River, as the circumstances of the war required, and always with reputation. Despairing of success in the northern parts, the enemy carried the war into the southern states ; and neither New-York nor Vermont any longer remained the places of distinguished enterprise. But such had been the fatigues and exertions of the colonel, that when he returned to his family in Bennington, his constitution, naturally firm and vigorous, appeared to be worn down ; and nature declined under a complication of disorders, occasioned by the excessive labor and sufferings he had passed through.

Most of those men who have been engaged with uncommon ardor in the cause of their country, have been so swallowed up with the patriotic passion, as to neglect that attention to their private interests which other men pursue as the ruling passion. Thus it proved with Col. Warner : intent at first upon saving a state, and afterwards upon saving a country, his mind was so entirely engaged in those pursuits, that he had not made that provision for his family, which to most of the politicians and land-jobbers was the ultimate end of all their measures and exertions. With a view the better to support his family he removed to Woodbury : where in the year 1785, he ended an active and useful life, in high estimation among his friends and countrymen.

His family had derived little or no estate from his services. After his death they applied to the general assembly of Vermont for a grant of land. The assembly, with a spirit of justice and generosity, remembered the services of Col. Warner, took up the petition, and granted a valuable tract of land to his widow and family : a measure highly honorable to the memory of Colonel Warner, and of that assembly."\*

\*Williams' Vermont.

**JOSEPH WARREN,**

Major General in the American Army.

"JOSEPH WARREN was born in Roxbury, near Boston, in the year 1741. His father was a respectable farmer in that place, who had held several municipal offices, to the acceptance of his fellow-citizens. Joseph, with several of his brothers, was instructed in the elementary branches of knowledge, at the public grammar-school of the town, which was distinguished for its successive instructors of superior attainments. In 1755, he entered college, where he sustained the character of a youth of talents, fine manners, and of a generous, independent deportment, united to great personal courage and perseverance. An anecdote will illustrate his fearlessness and determination at that age, when character can hardly be said to be formed. Several students of Warren's class shut themselves in a room to arrange some college affairs, in a way which they knew was contrary to his wishes; and barred the door so effectually that he could not without great violence force it: but he did not give over the attempt of getting among them; for perceiving that the window of the room in which they were assembled was open, and near a spout which extended from the roof of the building to the ground, he went to the top of the house, slid down to the eaves, seized the spout, and when he had descended as far as the window, threw himself into the chamber among them. At that instant the spout, which was decayed and weak, gave way and fell to the ground. He looked at it without emotion, said that it had served his purpose, and began to take his part in the business. A spectator of this feat and narrow escape related this fact to me in the college yard, nearly half a century afterwards; and the impression it made on his mind was so strong, that he seemed to feel the same emotion as though it happened but an hour before.

On leaving college in 1759, Warren turned his attention to the study of medicine, under the direction of Doctor Lloyd, an eminent physician of that day, whose valuable life has been protracted almost to the present time. Warren was distinguished very soon after he commenced practice; for when, in 1764, the small-pox spread in Boston, he was among the most successful in his method of treating that disease, which was then considered the most dreadful

scourge of the human race; and the violence of which had baffled the efforts of the learned faculty of medicine from the time of its first appearance. From this moment he stood high among his brethren, and was the favorite of the people; and what he gained in their good will he never lost. His personal appearance, his address, his courtesy and his humanity, won the way to the hearts of all; and his knowledge and superiority of talents, secured the conquest. A bright and lasting fame in his profession, with the attendant consequences, wealth and influence, were within his reach, and near at hand: but the calls of a distracted country were paramount to every consideration of his own interests, and he entered the vortex of politics, never to return to the peaceful course of professional labor.

The change in public opinion had been gradually preparing the minds of most men for a revolution. This was not openly avowed: amelioration of treatment for the present, and assurances of kindness in future, were all that the colonies asked from Great Britain—but these they did not receive. The mother country mistook the spirit of her children, and used threats, when kindness would have been the best policy. When Britain declared her right to direct, govern and tax us in any form, and at all times, the colonies reasoned, remonstrated and entreated for a while; and when these means did not answer, they defied and resisted. The political writers of the province had been active and busy, but they were generally screened by fictitious names, or sent their productions anonymously into the world: but the time had arrived, when speakers of nerve and boldness were wanted to raise their voices against oppression in every shape. Warren possessed first rate qualities for an orator, and had early declared in the strongest terms his political sentiments, which were somewhat in advance of public opinion; for he held as tyranny all taxation, which could be imposed by the British parliament upon the colonies. In times of danger, the people are sagacious, and cling to those who best can serve them; and every eye was on him in every emergency; for he had not only the firmness and decision they wished for in a leader, but was prudent and wary in all his plans. His first object was to enlighten the people; and then he felt sure of engaging their feelings in the general cause. He knew when once they began, it would be impossible to tread back—independence only would satisfy the country. With an intention of directing



public sentiment, without appearing to be too active, he met frequently with a considerable number of substantial mechanics, and others in the middling classes of society, who were busy in politics. This crisis required such a man as they found him to be; one who could discern the signs of the times, and mould the ductile materials to his will, and at the same time seem only to follow in the path of others. His letter to Barnard, which attracted the notice of government, had been written several years before, in 1768; but in some form or other he was constantly enlightening the people by his pen: but it is now difficult, and of no great importance to trace him in the papers of that period. The public was not then always right in designating the authors of political essays. In the different situations in which he was called to act, he assumed as many characters as fable has ever given to the tutelar god of his profession, and like him, in every one of them he retained the wisdom to guide, and the power to charm. At one time he might be found restraining the impetuosity, and bridling the fury of those hot-headed politicians who felt more than they reasoned, and dared to do more than became men. Such was his versatility, that he turned from these lectures of caution and prudence, to asserting and defending the most bold and undisguised principles of liberty, and defying in their very teeth the agents of the crown. Twice he was elected to deliver the oration on the 5th of March, in commemoration of the *massacre*; and his orations are among the most distinguished, produced by that splendid list of speakers who addressed their fellow-citizens on this subject, so interesting to them all. In these productions, generally, the immediate causes of this event were overlooked, and the remote ones alone were discussed. Here they were on safe ground: for tyranny, in its incipient stages, has no excuse from opposition; but in its march, it generally finds some plausible arguments for its proceedings, drawn from the very resistance it naturally produces. These occasions gave the orators a fine field for remark, and a fair opportunity for effect. The great orators of antiquity, in their speeches, attempted only to rouse the people to retain what they possessed. Invective, entreaty and pride had their effect in assisting these mighty masters to influence the people. They were ashamed to lose what their fathers left them, won by their blood, and so long preserved by their wisdom, their virtues and their courage. Our statesmen

had a hard task to perform : for they were compelled to call on the people to gain what they had never enjoyed—an independent rank and standing among the nations of the world.

His next oration was delivered March 6th, 1775. It was at his own solicitation that he was appointed to this duty a second time. The fact is illustrative of his character, and worthy of remembrance. Some British officers of the army then in Boston, had publicly declared that it should be at the price of the life of any man to speak of the event of March 5, 1770, on that anniversary. Warren's soul took fire at such a threat, so openly made, and he wished for the honor of braving it. This was readily granted ; for at such a time a man would probably find but few rivals. Many who would spurn the thought of personal fear, might be apprehensive that they would be so far disconcerted as to forget their discourse. It is easier to fight bravely, than to think clearly or correctly in danger. Passion sometimes nerves the arm to fight, but disturbs the regular current of thought. The day came, and the weather was remarkably fine. The Old South Meeting-House was crowded at an early hour. The British officers occupied the aisles, the flight of steps to the pulpit, and several of them were within it. It was not precisely known whether this was accident or design. The orator, with the assistance of his friends, made his entrance at the pulpit window by a ladder. The officers, seeing his coolness and intrepidity, made way for him to advance and address the audience. An awful stillness preceded his exordium. Each man felt the palpitations of his own heart, and saw the pale, but determined face of his neighbor.—The speaker began his oration in a firm tone of voice, and proceeded with great energy and pathos. Warren and his friends were prepared to chastise contumely, prevent disgrace, and avenge an attempt at assassination.

The scene was sublime ; a patriot, in whom the flush of youth, and the grace and dignity of manhood were combined, stood armed in the sanctuary of God, to animate and encourage the sons of liberty, and to hurl defiance at their oppressors. The orator commenced with the early history of the country, described the tenure by which we held our liberties and property—the affection we had constantly shown the parent country, and boldly told them how, and by whom these blessings of life had been violated. There was in this appeal to Britain—in this description of suffering, agony and

horror, a calm and high-souled defiance which must have chilled the blood of every sensible foe. Such another hour has seldom happened in the history of man, and is not surpassed in the records of nations. The thunders of Demosthenes rolled at a distance from Phillip and his host—and Tully poured the fiercest torrent of his invective when Cataline was at a distance, and his dagger no longer to be feared: but Warren's speech was made to proud oppressors resting on their arms, whose errand it was to overawe, and whose business it was to fight.

If the deed of Brutus deserved to be commemorated by history, poetry, painting and sculpture, should not this instance of patriotism and bravery be held in lasting remembrance? If he

“ That struck the foremost man of all this world,”

was hailed as the first of freemen, what honors are not due to him, who, undismayed, bearded the British lion, to show the world what his countrymen dared to do in the cause of liberty? If the statue of Brutus was placed among those of the gods, who were the preservers of Roman freedom, should not that of Warren's fill a lofty niche in the temple reared to perpetuate the remembrance of our birth as a nation?

If independence was not at first openly avowed by our leading men at that time, the hope of attaining it was fondly cherished, and the exertions of the patriots pointed to this end. The wise knew that the storm, which the political Prosperos were raising, would pass away in blood. With these impressions on his mind, Warren for several years was preparing himself by study and observation, to take a conspicuous rank in the military arrangements which he knew must ensue.

On the 18th of April, 1775, by his agents in Boston, he discovered the design of the British commander to seize or destroy our few stores at Concord. He instantly despatched several confidential messengers to Lexington. The late venerable patriot, Paul Revere, was one of them. This gentleman has given a very interesting account of the difficulties he encountered in the discharge of this duty. The alarm was given, and the militia, burning with resentment, were at day-break, on the 19th, on the road to repel insult and aggression. The Drama was opened about sunrise, within a few yards of the House of God, in Lexington. War-



ren hastened to the field of action, in the full ardor of his soul, and shared the dangers of the day. While pressing on the enemy, a musket ball took off a lock of his hair close to his ear. The lock was rolled and pinned, after the fashion of that day, and considerable force must have been necessary to have cut it away. The people were delighted with his cool, collected bravery, and already considered him as a leader, whose gallantry they were to admire, and in whose talents they were to confide. On the 14th of June, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts made him a major-general of their forces, but previous to the date of his commission, he had been unceasing in his exertions to maintain order and enforce discipline among the troops, which had hastily assembled at Cambridge, after the battle of Lexington. He mingled in the ranks, and by every method and argument strove to inspire them with confidence, and succeeded in a most wonderful manner in imparting to them a portion of the flame which glowed in his own breast. At such a crisis genius receives its birth-right—the homage of inferior minds, who for self preservation are willing to be directed. Previous to receiving the appointment of major-general, he had been requested to take the office of physician-general to the army, but he chose to be where wounds were to be made, rather than where they were to be healed. Yet he lent his aid and advice to the medical department of the army, and was of great service to them in their organization and arrangements.

He was at this time president of the Provincial Congress, having been elected the preceding year a member from the town of Boston. In this body he discovered his extraordinary powers of mind, and his peculiar fitness for responsible offices at such a juncture. Cautious in proposing measures, he was assiduous in pursuing what he thought, after mature deliberation, to be right, and never counted the probable cost of a measure, when he had decided that it was necessary to be taken. When this congress, which was sitting at Watertown, adjourned for the day, he mounted his horse and hastened to the camp. Every day ‘he bought golden opinions of all sorts of men;’ and when the troops were called to act on Breed’s Hill, he had so often been among them, that his person was known to most of the soldiers.

Several respectable historians have fallen into some errors in describing the battle in which he fell, by giving the command of the troops on that day to Warren, when he was on-

ly a volunteer in the fight. He did not arrive on the battle ground until the enemy had commenced their movements for the attack. As soon as he made his appearance on the field, the veteran commander of the day, Colonel Prescott, desired to act under his directions, but Warren declined taking any other part than that of a volunteer, and added that he came to learn the art of war from an experienced soldier, whose orders he should be happy to obey. In the battle he was armed with a musket, and stood in the ranks, now and then changing his place to encourage his fellow soldiers by words and example. He undoubtedly, from the state of hostilities, expected soon to act in his high military capacity, and it was indispensable, according to his views, that he should share the dangers of the field as a common soldier with his fellow citizens, that his reputation for bravery might be put beyond the possibility of suspicion. The wisdom of such a course would never have been doubted, if he had returned in safety from the fight. In such a struggle for independence, the ordinary rules of prudence and caution could not govern those who were building up their names for future usefulness by present exertion. Some maxims drawn from the republican writers of antiquity were worn as their mottos. Some precepts descriptive of the charms of liberty, were ever on their tongues, and some classical model of Greek, or Roman patriotism, was constantly in their minds. Instances of great men mixing in the ranks of common soldiers, were to be found in ancient times, when men fought for their altars and their homes. The cases were parallel, and the examples were imposing. When the battle was decided, and our people fled, Warren was one of the last who left the breast-work, and was slain within a few yards of it, as he was slowly retiring. He probably felt mortified at the event of the day, but had he known how dearly the victory was purchased, and how little honor was gained by those who won it, his heart might have been at rest. Like the band of Leonidas, the vanquished have received by the judgment of nations, from which there is no appeal, the imperishable laurels of victors. His death brought a sickness to the heart of the community; and the people mourned his fall, not with the convulsive agony of a betrothed virgin over the bleeding corpse of her lover—but with the pride of the Spartan mother, who in the intensity of her grief, smiled to see that the wounds whence life had flown, were on the breast of her son—and was satisfied that

he had died in defence of his country. The worth of the victim, and the horror of the sacrifice, gave a higher value to our liberties, and produced a more fixed determination to preserve them.

The battle of Bunker Hill has often been described, and of late its minutest details given to the public, but never was the military, moral and political character of that great event more forcibly drawn, than in the following extract from the *North American Review*, for July, 1818 :—

“ The incidents and the result of the battle itself, were most important, and indeed, most wonderful. As a mere battle, few surpass it in whatever engages and interests the attention. It was fought, on a conspicuous eminence, in the immediate neighbourhood of a populous city ; and consequently in the view of thousands of spectators. The attacking army moved over a sheet of water to the assault. The operations and movements were of course all visible and distinct.—Those who looked on from the houses and heights of Boston had a fuller view of every important operation and event, than can ordinarily be had of any battle, or than can possibly be had of such as are fought on a more extended ground, or by detachments of troops acting in different places, and at different times, and in some measure independently of each other.—When the British columns were advancing to the attack, the flames of Charlestown, (fired as is generally supposed, by a shell,) began to ascend. The spectators, far out-numbering both armies, thronged and crowded on every height and every point which afforded a view of the scene, themselves constituted a very important part of it.

“ The troops of the two armies seemed like so many combatants in an amphitheatre.—The manner in which they should acquit themselves, was to be judged of, not as in other cases of military engagements, by reports and future history, but by a vast and anxious assembly already on the spot, and waiting with unspeakable concern and emotion the progress of the day.

“ In other battles the *recollection* of wives and children has been used as an excitement to animate the warrior's breast and nerve his arm. Here was not a mere recollection, but an actual *presence* of them, and other dear connexions, hanging on the skirts of the battle, anxious and agitated, feeling almost as if wounded themselves by every blow of the enemy, and putting forth, as it were, their own



strength, and all the energy of their own throbbing bosoms, into every gallant effort of their warring friends.

“ But there was a more comprehensive and vastly more important view of that day’s contest than has been mentioned,—a view indeed, which ordinary eyes, bent intently on what was immediately before them, did not embrace, but which was perceived in its full extent and expansion by minds of a higher order. Those men who were at the head of the colonial councils, who had been engaged for years in the previous stages of the quarrel with England, and who had been accustomed to look forward to the future, were well apprised of the magnitude of the events likely to hang on the business of that day. They saw in it not only a battle, but the beginning of a civil war, of unmeasured extent and uncertain issue. All America and all England were likely to be deeply concerned in the consequences. The individuals themselves, who knew full well what agency they had had, in bringing affairs to this crisis, had need of all their courage ;—not that disregard of personal safety, in which the vulgar suppose true courage to consist, but that high and fixed moral sentiment, that steady and decided purpose, which enables men to pursue a distant end, with a full view of the difficulties and dangers before them, and with a conviction that, before they arrive at the proposed end, should they ever reach it, they must pass through evil report, as well as good report and be liable to obloquy, as well as to defeat.

“ Spirits, that fear nothing else, fear disgrace ; and this danger is necessarily encountered by those who engage in civil war. Unsuccessful resistance is not only ruin to its authors, but is esteemed, and necessarily so, by the laws of all countries, treasonable. This is the case, at least till resistance becomes so general and formidable as to assume the form of regular war. But who can tell, when resistance commences, whether it will attain even to that degree of success ? Some of those persons who signed the declaration of Independence in 1776, described themselves as signing it, “ as with halts about their necks.” If there were grounds for this remark in 1776, when the cause had become so much more general, how much greater was the hazard, when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought ?

“ These considerations constituted, to enlarged and liberal minds, the moral sublimity of the occasion ; while to the outward senses the movement of armies, the roar ofartil-

lery, the brilliancy of the reflection of a summer's sun, from the burnished armor of the British columns, and the flames of a burning town, made up a scene of extraordinary grandeur."

This eminence has become sacred ground. It contains in its bosom the ashes of the brave who died fighting to defend their altars and their homes. Strangers from all countries visit this spot, for it is associated in their memories with Marathon and Plataea, and all the mighty struggles of determined freemen. Our citizens love to wander over this field—the aged to awake recollections, and the youthful to excite heroic emotions. The battle-ground is now all plainly to be seen—the spirit of modern improvement, which would stop the streams of Helicon to turn a mill, and cause to be felled the trees of Paradise to make a rafter, has yet spared this hallowed height.

If "the days of chivalry be gone for ever," and the high and enthusiastic feelings of generosity and magnanimity be not so widely diffused as in more heroic ages, yet it cannot be denied but that there have been, and still are, individuals whose bosoms are warmed with a spirit as glowing and ethereal as ever swelled the heart of "mailed knight," who in the ecstasies of love, religion and martial glory, joined the war-cry on the plains of Palestine, or proved his steel on the infidel foe. The history of every revolution is interspersed with brilliant episodes of individual prowess. The pages of our own history, when fully written out, will sparkle profusely with those gems of romantic valor.

The calmness and indifference of the veteran "in clouds of dust and seas of blood," can only be acquired by long acquaintance with the trade of death; but the heights of Charlestown will bear eternal testimony how suddenly, in the cause of freedom the peaceful citizen can become the invincible warrior—stung by oppression, he springs forward from his tranquil pursuits, undaunted by opposition, and undismayed by danger, to fight even to death for the defence of his rights. Parents, wives, children, and country, all the hallowed properties of existence, are to him the talisman that takes fear from his heart, and nerves his arm to victory.

In the requiem over those who have fallen in the cause of their country, which

"Time with his own eternal lips shall sing,"

the praises of WARREN shall be distinctly heard.

The blood of those patriots who have fallen in the defence of Republics has often "cried from the ground" against the ingratitude of the country for which it was shed. No monument was reared to their fame; no record of their virtues written; no fostering hand extended to their offspring—but they and their deeds were neglected and forgotten. Towards Warren there was no ingratitude—our country is free from this stain. Congress were the guardians of his honor, and remembered that his children were unprotected orphans. Within a year after his death, Congress, passed the following resolutions:—

‘That a monument be erected to the memory of General Warren, in the town of Boston, with the following inscription:

IN HONOR OF  
JOSEPH WARREN,  
Major-General of Massachusetts  
Bay.

He devoted his Life to the  
liberties of his country,  
And in bravely defending them,  
fell an early victim in the

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL,

June 17, 1775.

The Congress of the United  
States, as an acknowledg-  
ment of his services and  
distinguished merit,  
have erected this  
monument to his  
memory.

It was resolved likewise, ‘That the eldest son of General Warren should be educated from that time at the expense of the United States.’ On the first of July, 1780, congress, recognizing these former resolutions, further resolved, ‘That it should be recommended to the executive of Massachusetts Bay to make provision for the maintenance and education of his three younger children. And that congress, would defray the expenses to the amount of the half pay of a major-general, to commence at the time of his death, and continue till the youngest of the children should be of age.’



"The part of the resolutions relating to the education of the children, was carried into effect accordingly. The monument is not yet erected, but it is not too late. The shade of Warren will not repine at this neglect, while the ashes of Washington repose without grave-stone or epitaph."\*

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### **ANTHONY WAYNE,**

Major-General in the American Army.

"ANTHONY WAYNE, a major-general in the American army, occupies a conspicuous station among the heroes and patriots of the American revolution. He was born in the year 1745, in Chester county, in the state, then colony, of Pennsylvania. His father, who was a respectable farmer, was many years a representative for the county of Chester, in the general assembly, before the revolution. His grandfather, who was distinguished for his attachment to the principles of liberty, bore a captain's commission under King William, at the battle of the Boyne. Anthony Wayne succeeded his father as representative for the county of Chester, in the year 1773 ; and from his first appearance in public life, distinguished himself as a firm and decided patriot. He opposed, with much ability, the unjust demands of the mother country, and in connexion with some gentlemen of distinguished talents, was of material service in preparing the way for the firm and decisive part which Pennsylvania took in the general contest.

In 1775, he was appointed to the command of a regiment, which his character enabled him to raise in a few weeks, in his native county. In the same year, he was detached under General Thompson into Canada. In the defeat which followed, in which Gen. Thompson was made a prisoner, Col. Wayne, though wounded, displayed great gallantry and good conduct, in collecting and bringing off the scattered and broken bodies of troops.

In the campaign of 1776, he served under Gen. Gates, at Ticonderoga, and was highly esteemed by that officer for both his bravery and skill as an engineer. At the close of that campaign he was created a brigadier-general.

At the battle of Brandywine, he behaved with his usual

bravery, and for a long time opposed the progress of the enemy at Chad's Ford. In this action, the inferiority of the Americans in numbers, discipline and arms, gave them little chance of success ; but the peculiar situation of the public mind was supposed to require a battle to be risked : the ground was bravely disputed, and the action was not considered as decisive. The spirit of the troops was preserved by a belief that the loss of the enemy had equalled their own. As it was the intention of the American commander in chief to hazard another action on the first favorable opportunity that should offer, Gen. Wayne was detached with his division, to harass the enemy by every means in his power. The British troops were encamped at Tredyffrin, and Gen. Wayne was stationed about three miles in the rear of their left wing, near the Paoli tavern, and from the precautions he had taken, he considered himself secure ; but about eleven o'clock, on the night of the 20th September, Major-General Gray, having driven in his pickets, suddenly attacked him with bayonets. Wayne, unable to withstand the superior number of his assailants, was obliged to retreat ; but formed again at a small distance, having lost about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. As blame was attached by some of the officers of the army, to General Wayne, for allowing himself to be surprised in this manner, he demanded a court martial, which, after examining the necessary evidence, declared that he had done every thing to be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer ; and acquitted him with honor.

A neat marble monument has been recently erected on the battle ground, to the memory of the gallant men who fell on the night of the 20th September, 1777.

Shortly after was fought the battle of Germantown, in which he greatly signalized himself, by his spirited manner of leading his men into action. In this action he had one horse shot under him, and another as he was mounting ; and at the same instant, received slight wounds in the left foot and left hand.

In all councils of war, Gen. Wayne was distinguished for supporting the most energetic and decisive measures. In the one previous to the battle of Monmouth, he and General Cadwalader were the only officers decidedly in favor of attacking the British army. The American officers are said to have been influenced by the opinions of the Europeans. The Baron De Steuben, and Generals Lee and Du

Portail, whose military skill was in high estimation, had warmly opposed an engagement, as too hazardous. But General Washington, whose opinion was in favor of an engagement, made such disposition as would be most likely to lead to it. In that action, so honorable to the American arms, General Wayne was conspicuous in the ardor of his attack. General Washington, in his letter to congress, observes, 'Were I to conclude my account of this day's transactions without expressing my obligations to the officers of the army in general, I should do injustice to their merit, and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves, is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning Brig. Gen. Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery, throughout the whole action, deserves particular commendation.'\*

"Among the many exploits of gallantry and prowess which shed a lustre on the fame of our revolutionary army, the storming of the fort at Stony-Point has always been considered one of the most brilliant.

'To Gen. Wayne, who commanded the light-infantry of the army, the execution of the plan was intrusted. Secrecy was deemed so much more essential to success than numbers, that it was thought unadvisable to add to the force already on the lines. One brigade was ordered to commence its march, so as to reach the scene of action in time to cover the troops engaged in the attack, in case of any unlooked for disaster; and Major Lee, of the light-dragoons, who had been eminently useful in obtaining the intelligence which led to the enterprise, was associated with General Wayne, as far as cavalry could be employed in such a service.

The night of the 15th of July, 1779, was fixed on for the assault; and it being suspected that the garrison would probably be more on their guard towards day, twelve was chosen for the hour.

Stony-Point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is, in a great measure, covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side, and continuing into it below. Over this marsh, there is only one crossing place, but at its junction with the river is a San-



dy beach passable at low tide. On the summit of this hill was erected the fort, which was furnished with a sufficient number of heavy pieces of ordnance. Several breast-works and strong batteries were advanced in front of the principal work, and about half way down the hill, were two rows of abattis. The batteries were calculated to command the beach, and the crossing place of the marsh, and to rake and enfilade any column which might be advancing from either of those points towards the fort. In addition to these defences, several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as, in a considerable degree, to command the ground at the foot of the hill.

The fort was garrisoned by about six hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson.

At noon of the day preceding the night of the attack, the light-infantry commenced their march from Sandy-beach, distant fourteen miles from Stony-Point, and passing through an excessively rugged and mountainous country, arrived about eight in the afternoon at Spring Steel's, one and a half miles from the fort, where the dispositions for the assault were made.

It was intended to attack the works on the right and left flanks at the same instant. The regiment of Febiger, and of Meiggs, with Major Hull's detachment, formed the right column, and Butler's regiment, with two companies under Major Murfree, formed the left. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury and Major Posey, constituted the van of the right; and one hundred volunteers under Major Stuart, composed the van of the left. At half past eleven, the two columns moved on to the charge, the van of each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. They were each preceded by a solemn hope of twenty men, the one commanded by Lieutenant Gibbon, and the other by Lieutenant Knox, whose duty it was to remove the abattis, and other obstructions, in order to open a passage for the columns which followed close in the rear.

Proper measures having been taken to secure every individual on the route, who could give intelligence of their approach, the Americans reached the marsh undiscovered. But unexpected difficulties having been experienced in surmounting this and other obstructions in the way, the assault did not commence until twenty minutes after twelve. Both columns then rushed forward, under a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot. Surmounting every obstacle, they



STORMING of STONEY POINT.





entered the works at the point of the bayonet, and without having discharged a single piece, obtained complete possession of the post.

The humanity displayed by the conquerors was not less conspicuous, nor less honorable, than their courage. Not a single individual suffered after resistance had ceased.

All the troops engaged in this perilous service manifested a degree of ardor and impetuosity, which proved them to be capable of the most difficult enterprises; and all distinguished themselves whose situation enabled them to do so. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort, and strike the British standard. Major Posey mounted the works almost at the same instant, and was the first to give the watchword—'The fort's our own.' Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox performed the service allotted to them, with a degree of intrepidity which could not be surpassed. Out of twenty men who constituted the party of the former, seventeen were killed or wounded.

The loss sustained by the garrison was not considerable. The return made by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, represented their dead at only twenty, including one captain, and their wounded at six officers, and sixty-eight privates. The return made by General Wayne states their dead at sixty three, including two officers. This difference may be accounted for, by supposing, that among those Colonel Johnson supposed to be missing, there were many killed. The prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, among whom were one lieutenant-colonel, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers. The military stores taken in the fort were also considerable.

The loss sustained by the assailants was by no means proportioned to the apparent danger of the enterprise. The killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred men. General Wayne himself, who marched at the head of Febiger's regiment in the right column, received a slight wound in the head, which stunned him for a time, but did not compel him to leave the column. Being supported by his aids, he entered the fort with the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Hay was also among the wounded.\*

The intrepidity, joined with humanity, its noblest companion, displayed on that occasion by General Wayne and his brave followers, cannot be too highly esteemed nor too frequently commemorated.

*General orders for the attack.*

The troops will march at —— o'clock and move by the right, making a short halt at the creek, or run, on this side, next Clements'; every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be answerable for every man in his platoon; no soldier to be permitted to quit his ranks on any pretext whatever, until a general halt is made, and then to be attended by one of the officers of the platoon.

When the head of the troops arrives in the rear of the hill, Colonel Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column of a half platoon in front as fast as they come up. Colonel Meiggs will form next in Colonel Febiger's rear, and Major Hull in the rear of Meiggs', which will form the right column.

Colonel Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger, and Major Murphy in his rear. Every officer and soldier will then fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, as a mark to distinguish them from the enemy.

At the word *march*, Colonel Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with arms unloaded, placing their whole dependence on fixed bayonets, who will move about twenty paces in front of the right column, and enter the sally-port; he is to detach an officer and twenty men a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries, and remove the abattis and obstructions for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear with shouldered muskets, led by Colonel Febiger and General Wayne in person:—when the works are forced, and *not before*, the victorious troops as they enter will give the watch-word—— with repeated and loud voices, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favor the pass of the whole troops: should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water or otherwise, effectual means must be used to effect the former and prevent the latter.

Colonel Butler will move by the route (2,) preceded by one hundred chosen men with fixed bayonets, properly officered, at the distance of twenty yards in front of the column, which will follow under Col. Butler with shouldered muskets. These hundred will also detach a proper officer and twenty men a little in front to remove the obstructions;

as soon as they gain the works, they will also give and continue the watchword, which will prevent confusion and mistake.

If any soldier presume to take his musket from his shoulder, or to fire, or begin the battle until ordered by his proper officer, he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him; for the misconduct of one man is not to put the whole troops in danger or disorder, and he be suffered to pass with life.

After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, and the closest attention paid to the commands of the officers.

The general has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the corps that he has the happiness to command—the distinguished honor conferred on every officer and soldier who has been drafted into this corps by his excellency General Washington, the credit of the states they respectively belong to, and their own reputations, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the general cannot have the least doubt of a glorious victory; and he hereby most solemnly engages to reward the first man that enters the works with five hundred dollars, and immediate promotion, to the second four hundred dollars, to the third three hundred dollars, to the fourth two hundred dollars, and to the fifth one hundred dollars; and will represent the conduct of every officer, and soldier, who distinguishes himself in this action, in the most favorable point of view to his excellency, whose greatest pleasure is in rewarding merit.

But should there be any soldier so lost to every feeling of honor as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or skulk in the face of danger, the officer next to him is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps or state he belongs to.

As General Wayne is determined to share the dangers of the night—so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day in common with his fellow soldiers.”\*

“Immediately after the surrender of Stony Point, Gen. Wayne transmitted to the commander in chief, the following laconic letter:—



*"Stony Point, July 16, 1779.*

*"2 o'clock, A. M.*

*"Dear General—The fort and garrison, with Col Johnson, are ours; our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free.*

*"Yours most sincerely,*

*"ANTHONY WAYNE.*

*"Gen. Washington."*

In the campaign of 1781, in which Lord Cornwallis, and a British army were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, he bore a conspicuous part. His presence of mind never failed him in the most critical situations. Of this he gave an eminent example on the James River. Having been deceived by some false information, into a belief that the British army had passed the river, leaving but the rear guard behind, he hastened to attack the latter before it should also have effected its passage; but on pushing through a morass and wood, instead of the rear guard, he found the whole British army drawn up close to him. His situation did not admit of a moment's deliberation. Conceiving the boldest to be the safest measure, he immediately led his small detachment, not exceeding 800 men, to the charge, and after a short, but very smart and close firing, in which he lost 118 of his men, he succeeded in bringing off the rest under cover of the wood. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the attack to be a feint, in order to draw him into an ambuscade, would not permit his troops to pursue.

The enemy, having made a considerable head in Georgia, Wayne was despatched by Gen. Washington to take command of the forces in that state, and, after some sanguinary engagements, succeeded in establishing security and order. For his services in that state the legislature presented him with a valuable farm.

On the peace, which followed shortly after, he retired to private life; but in 1789, we find him a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and one of those in favor of the present federal constitution of the United States.

In the year 1792, he was appointed to succeed General St. Clair, who had resigned the command of the army engaged against the Indians, on our western frontier. Wayne formed an encampment at Pittsburgh, and such exemplary discipline was introduced among the new troops, that, on

their advance into the Indian country, they appeared like veterans.

The Indians had collected in great numbers, and it was necessary not only to rout them, but to occupy their country by a chain of posts, that should, for the future, check their predatory incursions. Pursuing this regular and systematic mode of advance, the autumn of 1793, found General Wayne with his army, at a post in the wilderness, called Greenville, about six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, where he determined to encamp for the winter, in order to make the necessary arrangements for opening the campaign to effect early in the following spring. After fortifying his camp, he took possession of the ground on which the Americans had been defeated in 1791, which he fortified also, and called the work Fort Recovery. Here he piously collected, and, with the honors of war, interred the bones of the unfortunate, although gallant victims of the 4th November, 1791. The situation of the army, menacing the Indian villages, effectually prevented any attack on the white settlements. The impossibility of procuring the necessary supplies prevented the march of the troops till the summer. On the 8th of August, the army arrived at the junction of the Rivers Au Glaize and Miami of the Lakes, where they erected works for the protection of the stores. About thirty miles from this place, the British had formed a post, in the vicinity of which the Indians had assembled their whole force. On the 15th, the army again advanced down the Miami, and on the 18th, arrived at the Rapids. On the following day they erected some works for the protection of the baggage. The situation of the enemy was reconnoitered, and they were found posted in a thick wood, in the rear of the British fort. On the 20th, the army advanced to the attack. The Miami covered the right flank, and on the left were the mounted volunteers, commanded by General Todd. After marching about five miles, Major Price, who led the advance, received so heavy a fire from the Indians, who were stationed behind trees, that he was compelled to fall back. The enemy had occupied a wood in front of the British fort, which, from the quantity of fallen timber, could not be entered by the horse. The legion was immediately ordered to advance with trailed arms, and rouse them from their covert; the cavalry under Capt. Campbell, were directed to pass between the Indians and the river, while the volunteers, led by General Scott, made a circuit

to turn their flank. So rapid, however, was the charge of the legion, that before the rest of the army could get into action, the enemy were completely routed, and driven through the woods for more than two miles, and the troops halted within gun-shot of the British fort. All the Indians' houses and corn-fields were destroyed. In this decisive action, the whole loss of General Wayne's army, in killed and wounded, amounted only to one hundred and seven men. As hostilities continued on the part of the Indians, their whole country was laid waste, and forts established, which effectually prevented their return.

The success of this engagement destroyed the enemies' power; and, in the following year, Gen. Wayne concluded a definitive treaty of peace with them.

A life of peril and glory was terminated in December, 1796. He had shielded his country from the murderous tomahawk of the savage. He had established her boundaries. He had forced her enemies to sue for her protection. He beheld her triumphant, rich in arts, and potent in arms. What more could his patriotic spirit wish to see? He died in a hut at Presque Isle, aged about fifty-one years, and was buried on the shore of Lake Erie.

A few years since his bones were taken up by his son, Isaac Wayne, Esq., and entombed in his native county; and by direction of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, an elegant monument was erected. It is to be seen within the cemetery of St. David's Church, situated in Chester county. It is constructed of white marble, of the most correct symmetry and beauty."\*

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### BENEDICT ARNOLD,

#### THE TRAITOR.

"BENEDICT ARNOLD, a major-general in the American army during the revolutionary war, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, was early chosen captain of a volunteer company in New-Haven, Connecticut, where he lived. After hearing of the battle of Lexington, he immediately marched, with his company, for the American headquarters, and reached Cambridge, April 29, 1775.

\* Am. Biog. Dictionary.



He immediately waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them of the defenceless state of Ticonderoga. The committee appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise four hundred men, and to take that fortress. He proceeded directly to Vermont, and when he arrived at Castleton, was attended by one servant only. Here he joined Colonel Allen, and on the 10th of May the fortress was taken.

In the fall of 1775, he was sent by the commander in chief to penetrate through the wilderness of the District of Maine, into Canada. On the 16th of September, he commenced his march, with about one thousand men, consisting of New-England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen. One division was obliged to return, or it would have perished by hunger. After sustaining almost incredible hardships, he in six weeks arrived at Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. The appearance of an army, emerging from the wilderness, threw the city into the greatest consternation. In this moment of surprise, Arnold might probably have become master of the place ; but the small crafts and boats in the river were removed out of his reach.

It seems that his approach was not altogether unexpected. He had imprudently, a number of days before, sent forward a letter to a friend, by an Indian, who betrayed him. A delay of several days, on account of the difficulty of passing the river, was inevitable ; and the critical moment was lost.

On the 14th of November, he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night ; and, ascending the precipice which Wolfe had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the height, near the memorable Plains of Abraham. With only about seven hundred men, one third of whose muskets had been rendered useless in the march through the wilderness, success could not be expected. After parading some days on the heights near the town, and sending two flags to summon the inhabitants, he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there waited the arrival of Montgomery, who joined him on the first of December. The city was immediately besieged ; but the best measures had been taken for its defence. On the morning of the last day of the year, an assault was made on the one side of the city, by Montgomery, who was killed. At the same time, Colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and

fifty men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles, through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape-shot and musketry, as he approached the first barrier, he received a musket-ball in the leg, which shattered the bone ; and he was carried off to the camp. Though the attack was unsuccessful, the blockade of Quebec was continued till May, 1776 ; when the army, which was in no condition to risk an assault, was removed to a more defensible position. Arnold was compelled to relinquish one post after another till the 18th of June, when he quitted Canada. After this period, he exhibited great bravery in the command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain.

In August, 1777, he relieved Fort Schuyler, under the command of Colonel Gansevoort, which was invested by Colonel St. Leger, with an army of from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. In the battle near Still-water, September the nineteenth, he conducted himself with his usual intrepidity ; being engaged, incessantly, for four hours. In the action of October the seventh, after the British had been driven into the lines, Arnold pressed forward, and, under a tremendous fire, assaulted their works from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced, and with a few men he actually entered the works ; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack.

Being rendered unfit for active service, in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of Governor Penn, the best house in the city, his head-quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal, in his retreat from Canada ; and at Philadelphia, he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered the property of those who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public, in his accounts ; and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Such was his conduct, that he drew upon himself the odium of the inhabitants, not only of the city, but of the province in general. He was engaged in trading

speculations, and had shares in several privateers ; but was unsuccessful.

From the judgment of the commissioners, who had been appointed to inspect his accounts, and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands, he appealed to congress ; and they appointed a committee of their own body to examine and settle the business. The committee confirmed the report of the commissioners, and thought they allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. By these disappointments he became irritated, and he gave full scope to his resentment. His invectives against congress were not less violent, than those which he had before thrown out against the commissioners. He was, however, soon obliged to abide the judgment of a court martial, upon the charges exhibited against him by the executive of Pennsylvania ; and he was subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from Washington. His trial commenced in June, 1778, but such were the delays occasioned by the movements of the army, that it was not concluded until the 26th of January, 1779.—The sentence of a reprimand was approved by congress, and was soon afterwards carried into execution.

Such was the humiliation, to which General Arnold was reduced, in consequence of yielding to the temptations of pride and vanity, and indulging himself in the pleasures of a sumptuous table and expensive equipage.

From this time, probably, his proud spirit revolted from the cause of America. He turned his eyes to West Point as an acquisition, which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. He addressed himself to the delegation of New-York, in which state his reputation was peculiarly high ; and a member of congress from this state, recommended him to Washington for the service which he desired. But this request could not be immediately complied with. The same application to the commander in chief was made not long afterwards through General Schuyler. Washington observed, that, as there was a prospect of an active campaign, he should be gratified with the aid of General Arnold in the field, but intimated, at the same time, that he should receive the appointment requested, if it should be more pleasing to him.

Arnold, without discovering much solicitude, repaired to camp in the beginning of August, and renewed, in person,



the solicitations, which had been before indirectly made. He was now offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was advancing against New-York, but he declined it under pretext, that in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. Without a suspicion of his patriotism, he was invested with the command of West Point. Previously to his soliciting this station, he had, in a letter to Colonel Robinson, signified his change of principles, and his wish to restore himself to the favor of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the object of which was to concert the means of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the possession of the British general.

His plan, it is believed, was to have drawn the greater part of his army without the works, under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles, and to have left unguarded a designated pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise the fortress. His troops he intended to place, so that they would be compelled to surrender, or be cut in pieces. But just as his scheme was ripe for execution, the wise Disposer of events, who so often and so remarkably interposed in favor of the American cause, blasted his designs.

Major Andre, adjutant-general in the British army, was selected as the person, to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason, and the arrangements for its execution should be committed. A correspondence was, for some time, carried on between them under a mercantile disguise, and the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson; and at length, to facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North River and took a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. An interview was agreed on, and in the night of September the 21st, 1780, he was taken in a boat, which was despatched for the purpose, and carried to the beach without the posts of both armies, under a pass for John Anderson. He met Gen. Arnold at the house of a Mr. Smith. While the conference was yet unfinished, day light approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed, that he should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused to be carried within the American posts, but the promise made him by Arnold, to respect this objection, was not observed. He was carried within

them contrary to his wishes and against his knowledge. He continued with Arnold the succeeding day, and when, on the following night he proposed to return to the Vulture, the boat-men refused to carry him, because she had, during the day shifted her station, in consequence of a gun having been moved to the shore, and brought to bear upon her. This embarrassing circumstance reduced him to the necessity of endeavoring to reach New-York by land. Yielding, with reluctance, to the urgent representations of Arnold, he laid aside his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and, receiving a pass from the American general, authorising him, under the feigned name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service, to the White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper, he set out on his return. He had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was proceeding to New-York in perfect security, when, on the 23d of September, one of the three militia-men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bridle, and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, Andre, with a want of self-possession, which can be attributed only to a kind Providence, asked the man hastily, where he belonged; and being answered, 'to below,' replied immediately, 'and so do I.' He then declared himself to be a British officer, on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia-men coming up at this moment, he discovered his mistake; but it was too late to repair it. He offered a purse of gold and a valuable watch, to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape; but his offers were rejected without hesitation.

The militia-men, whose names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert, proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots, exact returns, in Arnold's hand writing, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependencies; critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them, with other interesting papers. Andre was carried before Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines, and, regardless of himself, and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still maintained the character which he had assumed,

and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer that Anderson was taken. An express was accordingly despatched, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped.

Major Andre, after his detection, was permitted to send a message to Arnold, to give him notice of his danger ; and the traitor found opportunity to escape on board the *Vulture*, on the 25th of September, 1780, a few hours before the return of Washington, who had been absent on a journey to Hartford, Connecticut. It is supposed however, that he would not have escaped, had not an express to the commander in chief, with an account of the capture of Andre, missed him by taking a different road from the one which he travelled.\*

Arnold, on the very day of his escape, wrote the following letter to Washington :—

*“ On board the Vulture, Sept. 25, 1780.*

“ SIR—The heart which is conscious of its own rectitude cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong ; I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country, since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and the colonies ; the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very seldom judges right of any man’s actions.

“ I have no favor to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it ; but from the known humanity of your excellency, I am induced to ask your protection of Mrs. Arnold, from every insult and injury that the mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me, she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me as she may choose ; from your excellency I have no fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country.

“ I have to request that the enclosed letter may be delivered to Mrs. Arnold, and she permitted to write to me.

“ I have also to ask that my clothes and baggage, which

\* Amer. Biographical Dictionary.





CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ.



are of little consequence, may be sent to me ; if required, their value shall be paid in money.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

B. ARNOLD.

“ His Excellency Gen. Washington.

“ N. B. In justice to the gentlemen of my family, Col. Varrick, and Major Franks, I think myself in honor bound to declare, that they, as well as Joshua Smith, Esq. (who I know are suspected) are totally ignorant of any transactions of mine, that they had reason to believe were injurious to the public.”

Mrs. Arnold was conveyed to her husband at New-York, and his clothes and baggage, for which he had written, were transmitted to him.

*“ The following is a concise description of the figures exhibited and paraded through the streets of the city of Philadelphia, two or three days after the affair.*

“ A stage raised on the body of a cart, on which was an effigy of Gen. Arnold sitting ; this was dressed in regimentals, had two faces, emblematical of his traitorous conduct, a mask in his left hand, and a letter in his right from Belzebub, telling him that he had done all the mischief he could do, and now he must hang himself.

At the back of the general, was a figure of the devil, dressed in black robes, shaking a purse of money at the general's left ear, and in his right hand a pitch-fork ready to drive him into hell, as the reward due for the many crimes which his thirst of gold had made him commit.

In the front of the stage, and before Gen. Arnold, was placed a large lanthorn of transparent paper, with the consequences of his crimes thus delineated, *i. e.* on one part General Arnold on his knees before the devil, who is pulling him into the flames—a label from the general's mouth with these words, “ My dear sir, I have served you faithfully ;” to which the devil replies, “ And I'll reward you.” On another side, two figures hanging, inscribed, “ The Traitor's Reward,” and wrote underneath, “ The adjutant-general of the British army, and Joe Smith ; the first hanged as a spy, and the other as a traitor to his country.’ And on the front of the lanthorn was wrote the following :



‘ *Major-General Benedict Arnold, late commander of the fort West Point. The crime of this man is high treason.*’

‘ He has deserted the important post, *West Point*, on Hudson’s River, committed to his charge by his excellency the commander in chief, and is gone off to the enemy at New-York.

His design to have given up this fortress to our enemies, has been discovered by the goodness of the Omniscient Creator, who has not only prevented him from carrying it into execution, but has thrown into our hands *Andre*, the adjutant-general of their army, who was detected in the infamous character of a spy.

The treachery of the ungrateful general is held up to public view for the exposition of infamy ; and to proclaim, with joyful acclamation, another instance of the interposition of bounteous Providence.

The effigy of this ingrate is therefore hanged (for want of his body) as a traitor to his native country, and a betrayer of the laws of honor.

The procession began about four o’clock, in the following order :—

Several gentlemen mounted on  
horseback.

A line of continental officers.

Sundry gentlemen in a line.

A guard of the city infantry.

Just before the cart, drums and  
fifes playing the *Rogue’s*  
March.

Guards on each side.

The procession was attended with a numerous concourse of people, who, after expressing their abhorrence of the treason and the traitor, committed him to the flames, and left both the effigy and the original to sink into ashes and oblivion”\*

“ During the exertions which were made to rescue *Andre* from the destruction which threatened him, *Arnold* had the hardihood to interpose. He appealed to the humanity of the commander in chief, and then sought to intimidate him by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of *South-Carolina*, who had forfeited their lives, but

\* *Niles’ Revolution.*

had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British general. This clemency, he said, could no longer, in justice, be extended to them, should Major Andre suffer."

Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British service; which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet he must have been held in contempt and detestation by the generous and honorable. It was impossible for men of this description, even when acting with him, to forget that he was a traitor, first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. One would suppose that his mind could not have been much at ease; but he had proceeded so far in vice, that perhaps his reflections gave him but little trouble. 'I am mistaken,' says Washington, in a private letter, 'if, *at this time*, Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hacknied in crime, so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse.'

Arnold found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends. With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard, he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavored to justify his conduct. He had encountered the dangers of the field, he said, from apprehensions that the rights of his country were in danger. He had acquiesced in the declaration of independence, though he thought it precipitate. But the rejection of the overtures, made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance, had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those, who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandizement, and had made him a confirmed loyalist. He artfully mingled assertions, that the principal members of congress held the people in sovereign contempt.

This was followed in about a fortnight by a proclamation, addressed 'to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interests of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress or of France.' To induce the American officers and soldiers to desert the cause which they had embraced, he represented that the corps of cavalry and infantry, which he was authorized to raise, would be upon the

same footing with the other troops in the British service ; that he should with pleasure, advance those, whose valor he had witnessed ; and that the private men, who joined him should receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment, at the full value, for horses, arms, and accoutrements. His object was the peace, liberty, and safety of America. ' You are promised liberty,' he exclaims, ' but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it saving your oppressors ? Who among you dare to speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny, which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is daily deluging your country with your blood ? ' ' What,' he exclaims again, ' is America now but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars ? As to you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence, that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their private uses ? In either case you surely can no longer continue in their service with honor or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which, with equal indifference to yours, as well as to the labor and blood of others, is devouring a country, that from the moment you quit their colours, will be redeemed from their tyranny.'

These proclamations did not produce the effect designed, and in all the hardships, sufferings. and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer, who abandoned the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

He was soon despatched by Sir Henry Clinton, to make a diversion in Virginia. With about seventeen hundred men he arrived in the Chesapeake, in January, 1781, and being supported by such a naval force, as was suited to the nature of the service, he committed extensive ravages on the rivers and along the unprotected coasts. It is said, that while on this expedition Arnold inquired of an American captain whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him if he should fall into their hands. The captain at first declined giving him an answer, but upon being repeatedly urged to it, he said, ' Why, sir, if I must answer your question, you must excuse my telling you the plain truth : if my countrymen should catch you, I believe they would first cut off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the hon-



ors of war, and afterwards hang the remainder of your body in gibbets.' The reader will recollect that the captain alluded to the wound Arnold received in one of his legs, at the attack upon Quebec, in 1776.\*

"The return of Gen. Arnold to New-York from Virginia, did not fix him in a state of inactivity. He was sent on an enterprise against New-London, with a sufficient land and marine force.—The embarkation having passed over from Long Island shore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbor, at ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th of September; that on the Groton side being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, and that on New-London side by the general, who met no great trouble. Fort Trumbull and the redoubt, which were intended to cover the harbor and town, not being tenable, were evacuated as he approached, and the few men in them crossed the river to fort Griswold, on Groton Hill. Arnold proceeded to the town without being otherwise opposed than by the scattered fire of small parties that had hastily collected. Orders were sent by the general to Eyre for attacking Fort Griswold, that so the possession of it might prevent the escape of the American shipping. The militia, to the amount of one hundred and fifty-seven, collected for its defence, but so hastily as not to be fully furnished with fire arms and other weapons. As the assailants approached, a firing commenced, and the flag staff was soon shot down, from whence the neighboring spectators inferred that the place had surrendered, till the continuance of the firing convinced them to the contrary. The garrison defended themselves with the greatest resolution and bravery: Eyre was wounded near the works, and Major Montgomery was killed immediately after, so that the command devolved on Major Broomfield. The British at one time staggered; but the fort being out of repair, could not be maintained by a handful of men against so superior a number as that which assaulted it. After an action of about forty minutes, the resolution of the royal troops carried the place by the point of the bayonet. The Americans had not more than half a dozen killed before the enemy entered the fort, when a severe execution took place, though resistance ceased. The British officer inquired, on his entering the fort, who commanded? Col. Ledyard an-

swered—‘ I did, sir, but you do now ;’ and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through and killed. The slain were seventy-three; the wounded between thirty and forty, and about forty were carried off prisoners. Soon after reducing the fort, the soldiers loaded a waggon with the wounded, as said, by order of their officers, and set the waggon off from the top of the hill, which is long and very steep; the waggon went a considerable distance with great force, till it was suddenly stopt, by an apple tree, which gave the faint and bleeding men so terrible a shock that part of them died instantly. About fifteen vessels, with effects of the inhabitants retreated up the river, notwithstanding the reduction of the fort, and four others remained in the harbor unhurt; a number were burnt by the fire’s communicating from the stores when in flames. Sixty dwelling houses and eighty-four stores were burned, including those on both sides of the harbor and in New-London. The burning of the town was intentional and not accidental. The loss that the Americans sustained in this destruction was very great; for there were large quantities of naval stores, of European goods, of East and West India commodities, and of provisions in the several stores. The British had two commissioned officers and forty-six privates killed; eight officers (some of whom are since dead) with one hundred and thirty-five non-commissioned, and privates wounded.”\*

“ From the conclusion of the war till his death, Gen. Arnold resided chiefly in England. He died in Gloucester place, London, June 14, 1801. His character presents little to be commended.—His daring courage may excite admiration; but it was a courage without reflection, and without principle. He fought bravely for his country; and he bled in her cause; but his country owed him no returns of gratitude, for his subsequent conduct proved, that he had no honest regard to her interests, but was governed by selfish considerations. His progress from self-indulgence to treason was easy and rapid. He was vain and luxurious, and to gratify his giddy desires, he must resort to meanness, dishonesty, and extortion. These vices brought with them disgrace; and the contempt into which he fell, awakened a spirit of revenge, and left him to the unrestrained influence of his cupidity and passion. Thus from the high

same to which his bravery had elevated him, he descended into infamy. Thus too, he furnished new evidence of the infatuation of the human mind, in attaching such value to the reputation of a soldier, which may be obtained while the heart is unsound, and every moral sentiment is entirely depraved."\*

\*Amer. Biog. Dictionary.



# BIOGRAPHY

OF

## GILBERT MOTIER LA FAYETTE,

Major-General in the American Continental Army.



THE family of General Lafayette has long been distinguished in the history of France. As early as 1422, the Marshal de Lafayette defeated and killed the Duke of Clarence at Beauge, and thus saved his country from falling entirely into the power of Henry Fifth, of England. His father fell in the battle of Munden, and therefore survived the birth of his son only two years. These, with many more memorials of his family, scattered through the different portions of French history for nearly five centuries, are titles to distinction, which it is particularly pleasant to recollect, when they fall, as they now do, on one so singularly fitted to receive and increase them.

General Lafayette himself was born in Auvergne, in the south of France, on the 6th of September, 1757. When quite young, he was sent to the College of Du Plessis at Paris, where he received that classical education, of which, when recently at Cambridge, he twice gave remarkable proof in uncommonly happy quotations from Cicero, suited to circumstances that could not have been foreseen. Somewhat later, he was sent to Versailles, where the court constantly resided; and there his education was still further continued, and he was made, in common with most of the young noblemen, an officer in the army. When only between sixteen and seventeen, he was married to the daugh-

ter of the Duke d'Ayen, son of the Duke de Noailles, and grandson to the great and good Chancellor d'Aguesseau ; and thus his condition in life seemed to be assured to him among the most splendid and powerful in the empire. His fortune, which had been accumulating during a long minority, was vast ; his rank was with the first in Europe ; his connexions brought him the support of the chief persons in France ; and his individual character, the warm, open, and sincere manners, which have distinguished him ever since, and given him such singular control over the minds of men, made him powerful in the confidence of society wherever he went.

It was at this period, however, that his thoughts and feelings were first turned towards these thirteen colonies, then in the darkest and most doubtful passage of their struggle for independence. He made himself acquainted with our agents at Paris, and learned from them the state of our affairs. Nothing could be less tempting to him, whether he sought military reputation or military instruction, for our army, at that moment retreating through New-Jersey, and leaving its traces in blood from the naked and torn feet of the soldiery as it hastened onward, was in a state too humble to offer either. Our credit, too, in Europe, was entirely gone, so that the commissioners, as they were called, without having any commission, to whom Lafayette still persisted in offering his services, were obliged, at last, to acknowledge that they could not even give him decent means for his conveyance. "Then," said he, "I shall purchase and fit out a vessel for myself." He did so. The vessel was prepared at Bordeaux, and sent round to one of the nearest ports in Spain, that it might be beyond the reach of the French government. In order more effectually to conceal his purposes, he made, just before his embarkation, a visit of a few weeks in England, the only time he was ever there, and was much sought in English society. On his return to France, he did not stop at all in the capital, even to see his own family, but hastened with all speed and secrecy, to make good his escape from the country. It was not until he was thus on his way to embark, that his romantic undertaking began to be known.

The effect produced in the capital and at court by its publication, was greater than we should now, perhaps, imagine. Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, required the French Ministry to despatch an order for his arrest not

only to Bordeaux, but to the French commanders on the West India station; a requisition with which the ministry readily complied, for they were, at that time, anxious to preserve a good understanding with England, and were seriously angry with a young man, who had thus put in jeopardy the relations of the two countries. In fact, at Passage, on the very borders of France and Spain, a *lettre de cachet* overtook him, and he was arrested and carried back to Bordeaux. There, of course, his enterprise was near being finally stopped; but watching his opportunity, and assisted by one or two friends, he disguised himself as a courier, with his face blacked and false hair, and rode on ordering post-horses, for a carriage which he had caused to follow him at a suitable distance for this very purpose, and thus fairly passed the frontiers of the two kingdoms, only three or four hours before his pursuers reached them. He soon arrived at his port, where his vessel was waiting for him. His family, however, still followed him with solicitations to return, which he never received.

Immediately on arriving the second time at Passage, the wind being fair he embarked. The usual course for French vessels attempting to trade with our colonies at that period, was, to sail for the West Indies, and then coming up along our coast, enter where they could. But this course would have exposed Lafayette to the naval commanders of his own nation, and he had almost as much reason to dread them, as to dread British cruisers. When, therefore, they were outside of the Canary Islands, Lafayette required his captain to lay their course directly for the United States. The captain refused, alleging, that if they should be taken by a British force and carried into Halifax, the French government would never reclaim them, and they could hope for nothing but a slow death in a dungeon or a prison-ship. This was true, but Lafayette knew it before he made the requisition. He, therefore, insisted, until the captain refused in the most positive manner. Lafayette then told him that the ship was his own private property, that he had made his own arrangements concerning it, and that if he, the captain, would not sail directly for the United States, he should be put in irons, and his command given to the next officer. The captain, of course, submitted, and Lafayette gave him a bond for forty thousand francs, in case of any accident. They, therefore, now made sail directly for the southern portion of the United States, and arrived unmolested at Charleston, S. C. on the 25th of April, 1777.



The sensation produced by his appearance in this country was, of course, much greater than that produced in Europe by his departure. It still stands forth, as one of the most prominent and important circumstances in our revolutionary contest ; and, as has often been said by one who bore no small part in its trials and success, none but those who were then alive, can believe what an impulse it gave to the hopes of a population almost disheartened by a long series of disasters. And well it might ; for it taught us, that in the first rank of the first nobility in Europe, men could still be found, who not only took an interest in our struggle, but were willing to share our sufferings ; that our obscure and almost desperate contest for freedom in a remote quarter of the world, could yet find supporters among those, who were the most natural and powerful allies of a splendid despotism ; that we were the objects of regard and interest throughout the world, which would add to our own resources sufficient strength to carry us safely through to final success.

Immediately after his arrival, Lafayette received the offer of a command in our army, but declined it. Indeed, during the whole of his service with us, he seemed desirous to show, by his conduct, that he had come only to render disinterested assistance to our cause. He began, therefore, by clothing and equipping a body of men at Charleston at his own expense, and then entered, as a volunteer without pay, into our service. He lived in the family of the Commander in Chief, and won his full affection and confidence. He was appointed a Major General in our service, by a vote of Congress, on the 31st of July, 1777, and in September of the same year, was wounded at Brandywine. He was employed in 1778 in many parts of the country, as a Major General, and as the Head of a separate Division, and after having received the thanks of Congress for his important services embarked at Boston in January, 1779, for France, thinking he could assist us more effectually, for a time, in Europe than in America.

He arrived at Versailles, then the regular residence of the French court, on the 12th of February, and the same day had a long conference with Maurepas, the Prime Minister. He was not permitted to see the king ; and in a letter written at court the next day, we are told, that he received an order to visit none but his relations, as a form of censure for having left France without permission ; but

this was an order that fell very lightly on him, for he was connected by birth or marriage with almost every body at court, and every body else thronged to see him at his own hotel. The treaty, which was concluded between America and France at just about the same period, was, by Lafayette's personal exertions, made effective in our favor. He labored unremittingly to induce his Government to send us a fleet and troops; and it was not until he had gained this point, and ascertained that he should be speedily followed by Count Rochambeau, that he embarked to return. He reached the Head Quarters of the Army on the 11th of May 1780, and there confidentially communicated the important intelligence to the Commander in Chief.

Immediately on his return from his furlough, he resumed his place in our service with the same disinterested zeal he had shown on his first arrival. He received the separate command of a body of infantry, consisting of about two thousand men, and equipped it partly at his own expense, rendering it by unwearied exertions, constant sacrifices, and wise discipline, the best corps in the army. What he did for us, while at the head of this division, is known to all who have read the history of their country. His forced march to Virginia, in December, 1780, raising two thousand guineas at Baltimore, on his own credit, to supply the pressing wants of his troops; his rescue of Richmond, which but for his great exertions must have fallen into the enemy's hands; his long trial of generalship with Cornwallis, who foolishly boasted in an intercepted letter, that "the boy could not escape him;" and finally the siege of Yorktown, the storming of the redoubt, and the surrender of the place in October, 1781, are proofs of talent as a military commander, and devotion to the welfare of these states, for which he never has been repaid, and, in some respects, never can be.

He was, however, desirous to make yet greater exertions in our favour, and announced his project of revisiting France for the purpose. Congress had already repeatedly acknowledged his merits and services in formal votes. They now acknowledged them more formally than ever by a resolution of November 23d, in which, besides all other expressions of approbation, they desire the foreign ministers of this government to confer with him in their negotiations

concerning our affairs ; a mark of respect and deference, of which we know no other example.

In France a brilliant reputation had preceded him. The cause of America was already popular there ; and his exertions and sacrifices in it, which, from the first, had seemed so chivalrous and romantic, now came reflected back upon him in the strong light of popular enthusiasm. While he was in the United States for the first time, Voltaire made his remarkable visit to Paris, and having met Madame de Lafayette at the Hotel de Choiseuil, he made her a long harangue on the brilliant destinies that awaited her husband as a defender of the great cause of popular freedom ; and ended by offering his homage to her on his knees.

It is not remarkable, therefore, with such a state of feeling while he was still absent from the country, that on his return, he was followed by crowds in the public streets wherever he went ; and that in a journey he made to one of his estates in the south of France, the towns through which he passed received him with processions and civic honors ; and that in the city of Orleans he was detained nearly a week by the festivities they had prepared for him.

He did not, however, forget our interests amidst the popular admiration with which he was surrounded. On the contrary, though the negotiations, for a peace were advancing, he was constantly urging upon the French government the policy of sending more troops to this country, as the surest means of bringing the war to a speedy and favorable termination. He at last succeeded ; and Count d'Estaing was ordered to hold himself in readiness to sail for the United States, as soon as Lafayette should join him. When therefore, he arrived at Cadiz, he found forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men ready to follow him, first for the conquest of Jamaica, and then for our assistance ; and they would have been on our coast early in the spring, if peace had not rendered further exertions unnecessary. This great event was first announced to Congress, by a letter from Lafayette, dated in the harbor of Cadiz, February 5, 1783.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, Lafayette began to receive pressing invitations to visit the country, whose cause he had so materially assisted. Washington, in particular, was extremely urgent ; and yielding not only to these instances, but to an attachment to the United States, of which his whole life has given proof, he embarked again for our



shores and landed at New York on the 4th of August, 1784. His visit however, was short. He went almost immediately to Mount Vernon, where he passed a few days in the family of which he was so long a cherished member, and then visiting Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, and Boston, received every where with unmingled enthusiasm and delight, he re-embarked for France. But when he was thus about to leave the United States for the third, and, as it then seemed, the last time, Congress, in December 1784, appointed a solemn deputation, consisting for its greater dignity, of one member from each state, with instructions to take leave of him on behalf of the whole country, and to assure him, "that these United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him." It was at the same time resolved, that a letter be written to his Most Christian Majesty, expressive of the high sense, which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his Majesty. We are not aware, that a more complete expression of dignified and respectful homage could have been offered to him.

During the year that followed the arrival of Lafayette in his own country, he found the minds of men more agitated on questions of political right, than they had ever been before. He went, for a short time, in 1785, to Prussia, for the purpose of seeing the troops of Frederick Second, and was received with distinguished kindness and consideration by that remarkable monarch; at whose court, by a singular coincidence of circumstances, he frequently met with Lord Cornwallis, and several other officers who had fought against him in the campaign that ended at Yorktown. But the grave and perilous discussions, that were then going on in France, soon called him back from Prussia. Into some of those discussions, he entered at once; on others he waited; but, on all, his opinions were openly and freely known, and on all, he preserved the most perfect consistency. He was for some time ineffectually employed with Malesherbes, the Minister of Louis Sixteenth, in endeavoring to relieve the Protestants of France from political disabilities, and place them on the same footing with other subjects. He was the first Frenchman, who raised his voice against

the slave trade ; and it is worth notice, that having devoted considerable sums of money to purchase slaves in one of the colonies, and educate them for emancipation, the faction, which in 1792 proscribed him, as an enemy to freedom, sold these very slaves back to their original servitude. And finally, at about the same time, he attempted with our Minister, Mr. Jefferson, to form a league of some of the European Powers against the Barbaresque Pirates, which, if it had succeeded, would have done more for their suppression, than has been done by Sir Sidney Smith's Association, or is likely to follow Lord Exmouth's victories.

But while he was busied in the interests, to which these discussions gave rise, the materials for great internal changes were collecting together at Paris from all parts of France ; and in February, 1787, the Assembly of the Notables was opened. Lafayette was, of course, a member, and the tone he held throughout its session contributed essentially to give a marked character to its deliberations. He proposed the suppression of the odious *lettres de cachet*, of which Mirabeau declared in the National Assembly, that seventeen had been issued against him before he was thirty years old ; he proposed the enfranchisement of the protestants, who, from the time of the abolition of the Edict of Nantz, had been suffering under more degrading disabilities than the Catholics now are in Ireland ; and he proposed by a formal *motion*,—which was the first time that word was ever used in France, and marks an important step towards a regular deliberative assembly,—he made a *motion* for the convocation of Representatives of the people. “What,” said the Count d’Artois, now Charles Tenth, who presided in the assembly of the Notables, “do you ask for the States General ?” “Yes,” replied Lafayette, “and for something more and better ;” an intimation, which, though it can be readily understood by all who have lived under a representative government, was hardly intelligible in France at that time.

Lafayette was, also, a prominent member of the States General, which met in 1789, and assumed the name of the National Assembly. He proposed in this body a Declaration of Rights not unlike our own, and it was under his influence and while he was, for this very purpose, in the chair, that a decree was passed on the night of the 13th and 14th of July, at the moment the Bastille was falling before the cannon of the populace, which provided for the responsibil-

ity of ministers, and thus furnished one of the most important elements of a representative monarchy. Two days afterwards, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the National Guards at Paris, and thus was placed at the head of what was intended to be made, when it should be carried into all the departments, the effective military power of the realm, and what, under his wise management, soon became such.

His great military command, and his still greater personal influence, now brought him constantly in contact with the court and the throne. His position, therefore, was extremely delicate and difficult, especially as the popular party in Paris, of which he was not so much the head, as the idol, was already in a state of perilous excitement, and atrocious violences were beginning to be committed. The abhorrence of the queen was almost universal, and was excessive to a degree of which we can now have no just idea. The circumstance that the court lived at Versailles, sixteen miles from Paris, and that the session of the National Assembly was held there, was another source of jealousy, irritation, and hatred, on the part of the capital. The people of Paris, therefore, as a sign of opposition, had mounted their municipal cockade of blue and red, whose effects were already becoming alarming. Lafayette, who was anxious about the consequences of such a marked division, and who knew how important are small means of conciliation, added to it, on the 26th of July, the white of the Royal cockade, and as he placed it in his own hat, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, prophesied, that it "would go round the world;" a prediction, which is already more than half accomplished, since the tricolored cockade has been used for the ensign of emancipation in Spain, in Naples, in some parts of South America, and in Greece.

Still, however, the tendency of every thing was to confusion and violence. The troubles of the times, too, rather than the want of the means of subsistence, had brought on a famine in the capital; and the populace of the Faux-bourgs, the most degraded certainly in France, having assembled and armed themselves, determined to go to Versailles; the greater part with a blind desire for vengeance on the royal family, but others only with the purpose of bringing the king from Versailles, and forcing him to reside in the more ancient but scarcely habitable palace of the Thuilleries, in the midst of Paris. The National Guards



clamored to accompany this savage multitude; Lafayette opposed their inclination; the municipality of Paris hesitated, but supported it; he resisted nearly the whole of the 5th of October, while the road to Versailles was already thronged with an exasperated mob of above an hundred thousand ferocious men and women, until, at last, finding the multitude were armed, and even had cannon, he asked and received an order to march, from the competent authority, and set off at four o'clock in the afternoon, as one going to a post of imminent danger, which it had clearly become his duty to occupy.

He arrived at Versailles at ten o'clock at night, after having been on horseback from before daylight in the morning, and having made, during the whole interval, both at Paris and on the road, incredible exertions to control the multitude and calm the soldiers. "The Marquis de Lafayette at last entered the Chateau," says Madame de Stael, "and passing through the apartment where we were, went to the king. We all pressed round him, as if he were the master of events, and yet the popular party was already more powerful than its chief, and principles were yielding to factions, or rather were beginning to serve only as their pretext. M. de Lafayette's manner was perfectly calm; nobody ever saw it otherwise; but his delicacy suffered from the importance of the part he was called to act. He asked for the interior posts of the chateau, in order that he might ensure their safety. Only the outer posts were granted him." This was not disrespectful to him who made the request. It was given, simply because the etiquette of the court reserved the guard of the royal person and family to another body of men. Lafayette, therefore, answered for the National Guards, and for the posts committed to them; but he could answer for no more; and his pledge was faithfully and desperately redeemed.

Between two and three o'clock, the queen and the royal family went to bed. Lafayette, too, slept after the great fatigues of this fearful day. At half past four, a portion of the populace made their way into the palace by an obscure interior passage, which had been overlooked, and which was not in that part of the chateau entrusted to Lafayette. They were evidently led by persons who well knew the secret avenues. Mirabeau's name was afterwards strangely compromised in it, and the form of the infamous Duke of Orleans was repeatedly recognised on the great staircase,

pointing the assassins the way to the queen's chamber. They easily found it. Two of her guards were cut down in an instant ; and she made her escape almost naked. Lafayette immediately rushed in with the national troops, protected the guards from the brutal populace, and saved the lives of the royal family, which had so nearly been sacrificed to the etiquette of monarchy.

The day dawned as this fearful scene of guilt and bloodshed was passing in the magnificent palace, whose construction had exhausted the revenues of Louis Fourteenth, and which, for a century, had been the most splendid residence in Europe. As soon as it was light, the same furious multitude filled the vast space, which, from the rich materials of which it is formed, passes under the name of the court of marble. They called upon the king, in tones not to be mistaken, to go to Paris : and they called for the queen, who had but just escaped from their daggers, to come out upon the balcony. The king, after a short consultation with his ministers, announced his intention to set out for the capital ; but Lafayette was afraid to trust the queen in the midst of the blood-thirsty multitude. He went to her, therefore, with respectful hesitation, and asked her if it were her purpose to accompany the king to Paris. " Yes," she replied, " although I am aware of the danger." " Are you positively determined ?" " Yes, sir." " Condescend, then, to go out upon the balcony, and suffer me to attend you." " Without the king ?"—she replied, hesitating—" Have you observed the threats ?" " Yes, Madam, I have ; but dare to trust me." He led her out upon the balcony. It was a moment of great responsibility and great delicacy ; but nothing, he felt assured, could be so dangerous as to permit her to set out for Paris, surrounded by that multitude, unless its feelings could be changed. The agitation, the tumult, the cries of the crowd, rendered it impossible that his voice should be heard. It was necessary, therefore, to address himself to the eye, and turning towards the queen, with that admirable presence of mind, which never yet forsook him, and with that mingled grace and dignity, which were the peculiar inheritance of the ancient court of France, he simply kissed her hand before the vast multitude. An instant of silent astonishment followed, but the whole was immediately interpreted, and the air was rent with cries of " Long live the queen !" " Long live the general !" from the same fickle and cruel populace, that only two hours before had embrued

their hands in the blood of the guards, who defended the life of this same queen.

The same day, that this scene was passing, the first meeting of the Jacobin club was held. Against this club and its projects Lafayette at once declared himself. With Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, he organized an opposing club, and the victory between the two parties was doubtful for above a year and a half. The contest, however, which was produced by this state of things, placed Lafayette in a very embarrassing and dangerous position. He was obliged to oppose the unprincipled purposes of the Jacobins, without retreating towards the principles of the ancient despotism; and it is greatly to his honor, that he did it most faithfully and consistently. When therefore, on the 20th of June, 1790, a proposition was suddenly made in the Assembly to abolish all titles of nobility, Lafayette, true to his principles, rose to second it. A short discussion followed. It was objected to the abolition of rank, that, if there were no titles, no such reward could be conferred as was once conferred by Henry Second, when he created an obscure person, according to the terms of his patent, "noble and count, for having saved the country at such a time." "The only difference," replied Lafayette, "will be, that the words, noble and count will be left out, and the patent will simply declare, that on such an occasion, such a man saved the state." From this time Lafayette renounced the title of Marquis, and has never since resumed it. Since the restoration of the Bourbons indeed, and the revival of the ancient nobility, there has been sometimes an affectation among the Ultra Royalists of calling him by his former title; but he has never recognised it, and is still known in France only by the address of General. At least, if he is sometimes called otherwise there, it is not by his friends.

At length the Constitution of a representative Monarchy, much more popular than that of Great Britain, which Lafayette's exertions had, from the first opening of the Assembly, been consistently devoted to establish, was prepared; and all were desirous that it should be received and recognised by the nation in the most solemn manner. The day chosen, as most appropriate for the ceremony, was the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille; and the open space behind the military school, called the Champ de Mars, from the Campus Martius of the Romans, was the place fixed on for this great national



festival and solemnity. By the constant labor of above two hundred thousand persons of both sexes and all ranks, from dukes and duchesses, bishops and deputies, down to the humblest artisans, who all made the occasion like the Saturnalia of the ancients, an amphitheatre of earth four miles in circumference was raised in a few weeks, whose sides were formed of seats destined to receive the French people, and amidst which stood the Throne and the Altar. On the morning of the day when the whole was to be consummated, the king, the court, the clergy, the National assembly, a deputation of the military from the eighty-three departments, and a body of people amounting to above four hundred thousand souls were assembled in this magnificent amphitheatre. Mass was first said, and then Lafayette, who that day had the military command of four millions of men, represented by 14,000 elected military deputies, and who held in his hands the power of the monarchy, swore to the Constitution on behalf of the nation, at the altar which had been erected in the midst of the arena. Every eye of that immense mass was turned on him; every hand was raised to join the oath he uttered. It was, no doubt, one of the most magnificent and solemn ceremonies the world ever saw; and, perhaps, no man ever enjoyed the sincere confidence of an entire people more completely than Lafayette did, as he thus bore the most imposing part in these extraordinary solemnities.

The Champ de Mars, however, as Madame de Stael has well observed, was the last moment of a genuine national enthusiasm in France. The Jacobins were constantly gaining power, and the revolution was falling more and more into the hands of the populace. When the king wished to go to St. Cloud with his family, in order to pass through the duties of Easter, under the ministration of a priest, who had not taken certain civil oaths, which in the eyes of many conscientious Catholics desecrated those who received them, the populace and the national guards tumultuously stopped his carriage. Lafayette arrived, at the first suggestion of danger "If," said he, "this be a matter of conscience with your majesty, we will, if it is necessary, die to maintain it," and he offered immediately to open a passage by force; but the king hesitated at first, and finally determined to remain in Paris.

Lafayette, indeed, under all circumstances, remained strictly faithful to his oaths; and now defended the freedom

of the king, as sincerely as he had ever defended the freedom of the people. His situation, therefore, became every day more dangerous. He might have taken great power to himself, and so have been safe. He might have received the sword of Constable of France, which was worn by the Montmorencies, but he declined it ; or he might have been Generalissimo of the National Guards, who owed their existence to him ; but he thought it more for the safety of the state that no such power should exist. Having, therefore, organized this last body, according to the project he had originally formed for it, he resigned all command at the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, with a disinterestedness of which, perhaps, Washington alone could have been his example ; and retired to his estate in the country, followed, as he had been for many years, by crowds wherever he went, and accompanied on his way by every form of popular enthusiasm and admiration.

From the tranquillity to which he now gladly turned, he was soon called by the war with Austria, declared April 20th, and in which he was, at once, appointed one of the three Generals to command the French armies. His labors, in the beginning of this war, whose declaration he did not approve, were very severe ; and the obstacles he surmounted, some of which were purposely thrown in his way by the factions of the capital, were great and alarming. But the Jacobins at Paris were now a well organized body, and were fast maturing their arrangements to overturn the Constitution. Violences of almost every degree of atrocity were become common, and that public order of which Lafayette had never ceased to speak on all suitable occasions, no longer existed. Under these circumstances, he felt that his silence would be an abandonment of the principles to the support of which he had devoted his life ; and with a courage, which few men in any age have been able to show, and with a temperance, which has always kept his conduct on one even line, he wrote a letter to the National Assembly, dated June 16th, in which he plainly denounced the growing faction of Jacobins, and called on the constituted authorities to put a stop to the atrocities this faction was openly promoting. In the course of this letter he dared to say ; " Let the royal authority be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the constitution ; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty ; let the king be respected, for he is invested with the majesty of

the nation ; let him choose a ministry that shall wear the chains of no faction ; and if traitors exist, let them perish only under the sword of the law." There was not another man in France, who would have dared to take such a step, at such a time ; and it required all Lafayettes's vast influence to warrant him in expressing such opinions and feelings, or to protect him afterwards.

At first the Jacobins seemed to shrink from a contest with him. He said to the assembly, " Let the reign of clubs, abolished by you, give place to the reign of the law," and they almost doubted whether he had not yet power enough to effect what he counselled. They began, therefore, as soon as the letter had been read, by denying its authenticity ; they declared it, in short, to be a forgery. As soon as Lafayette heard of this, he came to Paris, and avowed it at the bar of the Assembly. The 20th of June, however, had overthrown the Constitution before his arrival ; and, though he stood with an air of calm command amidst its ruins, and vindicated it as proudly as ever, he was, after all, surrounded by those who had triumphed over it. Still the majority of the Assembly was decidedly with him, and when on the 8th of August, his impeachment was moved, more than two thirds voted in his favor. But things were daily growing worse. On the 9th of August, the Assembly declared itself no longer free : and within two days, its number fell to less than one third, and the capital was given up to the terrors of the 10th of August. Lafayette, therefore, could do nothing at Paris, and returned to his army on the borders of the low countries. But the army, too, was now infected. He endeavored to assure himself of its fidelity, and proposed to the soldiers to swear anew to the Constitution. A very large proportion refused, and it immediately became apparent, from the movements, both at Paris and in the army, that he was no longer safe. His adversaries, who for his letter, were determined, and interested to ruin him, were his judges ; and they belonged to a party, which was never known to devote a victim without consummating the sacrifice. On the 17th of August, therefore, accompanied by three of his general officers, Alexandre Lameth, Latour Maubourg, and Bureaux de Puzy, he left the army, and in a few hours was beyond the limits of France. His general purpose was, to reach the neutral territory of the republic of Holland, which was quite near ; and from that point either rally the old consti-



tutional party, or pass to Switzerland or the United States, where he should be joined by his family. That he did not leave France, while any hope remained for him, is certain ; since, before his escape was known at Paris, a decree, accusing him of high treason, which was then equivalent to an order for his execution, was carried in what remained of the Assembly by a large majority.

Lafayette and his companions hoped to avoid the enemy's posts, but they did not succeed. They were seized the same night by an Austrian patrol, and soon afterwards recognised. They were not treated as prisoners of war, which was the only quality in which they could have been arrested and detained ; but were exposed to disgraceful indignity, because they had been the friends of the Constitution. After being detained a short time by the Austrians, they were given up to the Prussians, who, because their fortresses were nearer, were supposed to be able to receive and guard them more conveniently. At first they were confined at Wesel on the Rhine, and afterwards in dungeons at Magdeburg. But the Prussians, at last, became unwilling to bear the odium of such unlawful and disgraceful treatment of prisoners of war, entitled to every degree of respect from their rank and character ; and especially from the manner in which they had been taken. They, therefore, before they made peace, gave them up again to the Austrians, who finally transferred them to most unhealthy dungeons in the citadel of Olmutz. The sufferings to which Lafayette was here exposed, in the mere spirit of a barbarous revenge, are almost incredible. He was warned, " that he would never again see any thing but the four walls of his dungeon ; that he would never receive news of events or persons ; that his name would be unknown in the citadel, and that in all accounts of him sent to court, he would be designated only by a number ; that he would never receive any notice of his family, or the existence of his fellow prisoners." At the same time, knives and forks were removed from him, as he was officially informed, that his situation was one which would naturally lead him to suicide.

His sufferings, indeed, proved almost beyond his strength. The want of air, and the loathsome dampness and filth of his dungeon, brought him more than once to the borders of the grave. His frame was wasted with diseases, of which, for a long period, not the slightest notice was taken ; and on one occasion, he was reduced so low, that his hair fell

from him entirely by the excess of his sufferings. At the same time, his estates in France were confiscated, his wife cast into prison, and *Fayetisme*, as adherence to the Constitution was called, was punished with death.

His friends, however, all over Europe, were carefully watching every opportunity to obtain some intelligence which should, at least, render his existence certain. Among those who made the most vigorous and continued exertions to get some hint of his fate, was Count Lally Tolendal, then a refugee from his blood stained country. This nobleman became acquainted in London with Dr. Erick Bollmann, a Hanoverian, who, immediately after the massacres of August 10th, 1792, had been employed by Madam de Stael to effect the escape of Count Narbonne, and, by great address and courage, had succeeded in conveying him safely to England. Dr. Bollmann's adventurous spirit easily led him to engage in the affairs of Lafayette. His first expedition to the continent, under the direction of Lafayette's friends in London, in 1793, was, however, no further successful, than that he learned the determination of the Prussian government to give up Lafayette to Austria, and the probability that he had been already transferred. Where he was, and whether he were even alive, were circumstances Dr. Bollmann found it impossible to determine.

But the friends of Lafayette were not discouraged. In June 1794, they again sent Dr. Bollmann to Germany to ascertain what had been his fate, and if he were still alive, to endeavor to procure his escape. With great difficulty, he traced the French prisoners to the Prussian frontiers, and there ascertained, that an Austrian escort had received them, and taken the road to Olmutz, a strong fortress in Moravia, one hundred and fifty miles north of Vienna, and near the borders of Silesia. At Olmutz, Dr. Bollmann ascertained, that several state prisoners were kept in the citadel with a degree of caution and mystery, which must have been not unlike that used towards the half fabulous personage in the iron mask. He did not doubt but Lafayette was one of them, and making himself professionally acquainted with the military surgeon of the post, soon became sure of it. By very ingenious means, Dr. Bollmann contrived to communicate his projects through this surgeon to Lafayette, and to obtain answers without exciting the surgeon's suspicions; until, at last, after the lapse of several months, during which, to avoid all risk, Dr. Bollmann made a long visit at Vienna,

it was determined, that an attempt should be made to rescue Lafayette, while on one of the airings, with which he was then regularly indulged on account of his broken health.

As soon as this was arranged, Dr. Bollmann returned to Vienna, and communicated his project to a young American, by the name of Francis K. Huger, then accidentally in Austria ; son of the person at whose house, near Charleston, Lafayette had been first received on his landing in America : a young man of uncommon talent, decision, and enthusiasm, who at once entered into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution with the most romantic earnestness. These were the only two persons on the continent, except Lafayette himself, who had the slightest suspicion of these arrangements for his rescue, and neither of these persons knew him by sight. It was therefore concerted between the two parties, after the two friends had come to Olmutz in November, that, to avoid all mistakes when the rescue should be attempted, each should take off his hat and wipe his forehead, in sign of recognition ; and then, having ascertained a day when Lafayette would ride out, Dr. Bollmann and Mr. Huger sent their carriage ahead to Hoff, a post about twenty-five miles on the road they wished to take, with directions to have it waiting for them at a given hour. The rescue they determined to attempt on horseback ; and they put no balls into their pistols, and took no other weapons, thinking it would be unjustifiable to commit a murder even to effect their purpose.

Having ascertained that a carriage which they supposed must contain Lafayette, since there was a prisoner and an officer inside and a guard behind, had passed out of the fortress, they mounted and followed. They rode by it, and then slackening their pace and allowing it again to go ahead, exchanged signals with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high road, and passing into a less frequented track in the midst of an open country, Lafayette descended to walk for exercise, guarded only by the officer who had been riding with him. This was evidently the moment for their attempt. They therefore rode up at once ; and after an inconsiderable struggle with the officer, from which the guard fled to alarm the citadel, the rescue was completed. One of the horses, however, had escaped during the contest, and thus only one remained with which to proceed. Lafayette was immediately mounted on this



horse, and Mr. Huger told him, in English, to go to Hoff. He mistook what was said to him for a mere general direction to go *off*—delayed a moment to see if he could not assist them—then went on—then rode back again, and asked once more, if he could be of no service—and finally, urged anew, galloped slowly away.

The horse, that had escaped, was soon recovered and both Dr. Bollmann and Mr. Huger mounted him, intending to follow and assist Lafayette. But the animal proved intractable, threw them and left them, for some time, stunned by their fall. On recovering their horse a second time, Dr. Bollmann alone mounted; Mr. Huger thinking that, from his own imperfect knowledge of the German, he could not do as much towards effecting their main purpose. These accidents defeated their romantic enterprise. Mr. Huger, who could now attempt his escape only on foot, was soon stopped by some peasants, who had witnessed what had passed. Dr. Bollmann easily arrived at Hoff; but not finding Lafayette there, lingered about the frontiers till the next night, when he too was arrested and delivered up to the Austrians. And finally Lafayette, having taken a wrong road and pursued it till his horse could proceed no further, was stopped at the village of Jagersdorff, as a suspicious person, and detained there till he was recognized by an officer from Olmutz, two days afterwards. All three of them were brought back to the citadel and separately confined without being permitted to know any thing of each other's fate. Mr. Huger was chained to the floor, in a small arched dungeon, about six feet by eight, without light and with only bread and water for food; and once in six hours, by day and by night, the guard entered, and, with a lamp, examined each brick in his cell, and each link in his chain. To his earnest request to know something of Dr. Bollmann, and to learn whether Lafayette had escaped, he received no answer at all. To his more earnest request to be permitted to send to his mother in America merely the words, "I am alive," signed with his name, he received a rude refusal. Indeed, at first, every degree of brutal severity was practised towards both of them; but, afterwards, this severity was relaxed. The two prisoners were placed nearer together, where they could communicate; and their trial for what, in Vienna, was magnified into a wide and alarming conspiracy, was begun with all the tedious formalities, that could be prescribed by Austrian fear and caution. How it would

have turned, if they had been left entirely unprotected, it is not difficult to conjecture : but at this crisis of their fate, they were secretly assisted by Count Metrowsky, a nobleman living near their prison, whom neither of them had ever seen, and who was interested in them, only for what, in the eyes of his government, constituted their crime. The means he used to influence the tribunal that judged them, may be easily imagined, since they were so far successful, that the prisoners, after having been confined for trial eight months, were sentenced only to a fortnight's imprisonment as their punishment, and then released. A few hours after they had left Olmutz, an order came from Vienna directing a new trial, which under the management of the ministers would of course have ended very differently from the one managed by Count Metrowsky ; but the prisoners were already beyond the limits of the Austrian Dominions.

Lafayette, in the meanwhile, was thrown back into his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with hardly a hope that they could be terminated, except by his death. During the winter of 1794-5, he was reduced to almost the last extremity by a violent fever ; and yet was deprived of proper attendance, of air, of suitable food, and of decent clothes. To increase his misery, he was made to believe, that he was only reserved for a public execution, and that his chivalrous deliverers would perish on the scaffold before his window ; while, at the same time, he was not permitted to know whether his family were still alive, or had fallen under the revolutionary axe, of which, during the few days he was out of his dungeon, he had heard such appalling accounts.

Madame de Lafayette, however, was nearer to him than he could imagine to be possible. She had been released from prison, where she, too, had nearly perished ; and, having gained strength sufficient for the undertaking, and sent her eldest son for safety to the care of General Washington, she set out, accompanied by her two young daughters, for Germany, all in disguise, and with American passports. They were landed at Altona, and, proceeding immediately to Vienna, obtained an audience of the Emperor, who refused to liberate Lafayette, but, as it now seems probable, against the intentions of his ministers gave them permission to join him in his prison. They went instantly to Olmutz ; but before they could enter, they were deprived of whatever they had brought with them to alleviate the miseries of a dungeon, and required, if they should

pass its threshold, never again to leave it. Madame de Lafayette's health soon sunk under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment, and she wrote to Vienna for permission to pass a week in the capital, to breathe purer air and obtain medical assistance. Two months elapsed before any answer was returned; and then she was told, that no objection would be made to her leaving her husband; but that, if she should do so, she must never return to him. She immediately and formally signed her consent and determination "to share his captivity in all its details:" and never afterwards made an effort to leave him. Madame de Stael has well observed, when on this point of the history of the French Revolution;—"antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of General Lafayette, his wife, and his daughters, in the prison of Olmutz."

One more attempt was made to effect the liberation of Lafayette, and it was made in the place and in the way, that might have been expected. When the Emperor of Austria refused the liberty of her husband to Madame de Lafayette, he told her that "his hands were tied." In this remark, the Emperor could, of course, allude to no law or constitution of his empire, and therefore his hands could be tied only by engagements with his allies in the war against France. England was one of these allies, and General Fitzpatrick, in the House of Commons, made a motion, for an inquiry into the case, in which he was supported by Colonel Tarleton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia. Afterwards, on the 16th of December, 1796, General Fitzpatrick renewed his attempt more solemnly, and was supported in it by Wilberforce, by Sheridan, and by Fox, in one of his most powerful and happy speeches; but the motion was lost. One effect, however, unquestionably followed from it:—a solemn and vehement discussion, on Lafayette's imprisonment, in which the Emperor of Austria found no apologist, had been held in the face of all Europe; and all Europe, of course, was informed of his sufferings, in the most solemn and authentic way.

When, therefore, General Clarke was sent from Paris to join Bonaparte in Italy, and negotiate a peace with the Austrians, it was understood, that he received orders from the Directory to stipulate for the deliverance of the prisoners in Olmutz, since it was impossible for France to consent to such an outrage on the rights of citizenship, as would be im-



plied by their further detention. On opening the negotiation, an attempt was made on the part of Austria, to compel Lafayette to receive his freedom on conditions prescribed to him; but this he distinctly refused; and, in a document that has often been published, declared with a firmness, which we can hardly believe would have survived such sufferings, that he would never accept his liberation in any way, that should compromise his rights and duties, either as a Frenchman, or as an *American citizen*. Bonaparte often said, that, of all the difficulties in this protracted negotiation with the Coalition, the greatest was the delivery of Lafayette. He was, however, at last released with his family on the 25th of August, 1797; Madame de Lafayette and her daughters having been confined twenty-two months, and Lafayette himself five years, in a disgraceful spirit of vulgar cruelty and revenge, of which modern history can afford, we trust, very few examples.

France was still too little settled to promise peace or safety to Lafayette and his family. They proceeded first to Hamburg; and then, after causing their rights both as French and American citizens to be formally recognised, went to the neighboring neutral territories of Holstein, where they lived in retirement and tranquillity about a year. There they were joined by their eldest son, who came to them from the family of General Washington; there, too, their eldest daughter was married to Latour Mauburg, brother of the person who had shared Lafayette's captivity: and there he first devoted himself with great earnestness to those agricultural pursuits, which have since constituted the occupation and the happiness of his life. From Holstein he went at the formal invitation of the Batavian republic, and established himself for several months at Utrecht in Holland, where he was treated with great consideration and kindness, and where he had the advantage of being nearer to the borders of his own country. While he was thus living tranquil and happy, but anxiously watching the progress of events in France, the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, November 10th, 1799, happened, and promised for a time to settle the government of his country on a safer foundation. He immediately returned to France, and established himself at La Grange; a fine old castle, surrounded by a moderate estate about forty miles from Paris, where he has lived ever since.

When, however, Bonaparte, to whom the revolution of

the 18th Brumaire had given supreme control, began to frame his constitution and organize his government, Lafayette perceived, at once, that the principles of freedom would not be permanently respected. He had several interviews and political discussions with the Consul, and was much pressed to accept the place of Senator, with its accompanying revenues, in the new order of things; but he refused, determined not to involve himself in changes, which he already foresaw he should not approve. In 1802, Bonaparte asked to be made First Consul for life: Lafayette voted against it, entered his protest, and sent a letter to Bonaparte himself; and from this moment all intercourse between them ceased. Bonaparte even went so far as to refuse to promote Lafayette's eldest son, and his son-in-law Lasteyrie, though they distinguished themselves repeatedly in the army; and once, when a report of the services of the former in a bulletin was offered him, he erased it with impatience, saying, "These Lafayettes cross my path every where." Discouraged, therefore, in every way in which they could be of service to their country, the whole family was at last collected at La Grange, and lived there in the happiest retirement, so long as the despotism of Bonaparte lasted.

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 made no change in Lafayette's relations. He presented himself once at court, and was very kindly received; but the government they established was so different from the representative government, which he had assisted to form, and sworn to support in 1789, that he did not again present himself at the palace. The Bourbons, by neglecting entirely to understand or conciliate the nation, at the end of a year brought back Bonaparte, who landed the first of March, 1815, and reached the capital on the 20th. His appearance in Paris was like a theatrical illusion, and his policy seemed to be to play all men, of all parties, like the characters of a great drama, around him. Immediately on his arrival upon the soil of France, he endeavored to win the old friends of French freedom; and the same day that he made his irruption into the ancient palace of the Thuilleries, he appointed Carnot his minister of war, and Carnot was weak enough to accept the appointment with the title of Count. In a similar way, he endeavored to obtain the countenance and co-operation of Lafayette. Joseph Bonaparte, to whom Lafayette was personally known, and for whom he entertained a personal regard, was employed by the Emperor to consult

and conciliate him ; but Lafayette would hold no communion with the new order of things. He even refused, though most pressingly solicited, to have an interview with the Emperor ; and ended, when still further urged, by positively declaring, that he could never meet him, unless it should be as a representative freely chosen by the people.

On the 22d of April, Napoleon offered to the French nation his *Acte Additionel*, or an addition, as he chose to consider it, to the constitutions of 1799, 1802, and 1804 ; confirming thereby the principles of his former despotism, but establishing, among other things, an hereditary chamber of peers, and an elective chamber of representatives. This act was accepted, or pretended to be accepted, by the votes of the French people ; but Lafayette entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit with which he had protested against the Consulship for life. The very college of Electors, however, who received his protest, unanimously chose him first to be their President, and afterwards to be their Representative ; and the Emperor, determined to obtain his influence, or at least his silence, offered him the first peerage in the new chamber he was forming. Lafayette was as true to his principles, as he had often been before, under more difficult circumstances. He accepted the place of representative, and declined the peerage.

As a representative of the people he saw Bonaparte, for the first time, at the opening of the chambers, on the 7th of June. " It is above twelve years since we have met, General," said Napoleon, with great kindness of manner, when he saw Lafayette ; but Lafayette received the Emperor with marked distrust ; and all his efforts were directed, as he then happily said they should be, " to make the chamber, of which he was a member, a representation of the French people, and not a Napoleon club." Of three candidates for the presidency of the chamber, on the first ballot, Lafayette and Lanjuinais had the highest number of votes ; but finding that the Emperor had declared he would not accept Lanjuinais, if he should be chosen, Lafayette used great exertions and obtained a majority for him ; to which, circumstances compelled Napoleon to submit. From this moment, until after the battle of Waterloo, which happened in twelve days, Lafayette did not make himself prominent in the chamber. He voted for all judicious supplies, on the ground that France was invaded, and that it was the duty of all Frenchmen to defend their country ; but he in no



way implicated himself in Bonaparte's projects or fortunes, with which it was impossible that he could have any thing in common.

At last, on the 21st of June, Bonaparte arrived from Waterloo, a defeated and desperate man. He was already determined to dissolve the representative body, and, assuming the whole dictatorship of the country, play, at least, one deep and bloody game for power and success. Some of his council, and, among the rest, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angle, who were opposed to this violent measure, informed Lafayette, that it would be taken instantly, and that in two hours the chamber of representatives would cease to exist. There was, of course, not a moment left for consultation or advice; the Emperor, or the chamber, must fall that morning. As soon, therefore, as the session was opened, Lafayette, with the same clear courage and in the same spirit of self-devotion, with which he stood at the bar of the National Assembly in 1792, immediately ascended the Tribune for the first time for twenty years, and said these few words, which assuredly would have been his death warrant, if he had not been supported in them by the assembly he addressed: "When, after an interval of many years, I raise a voice which the friends of free institutions will still recognise, I feel myself called upon to speak to you only of the dangers of the country, which you alone have now the power to save. Sinister intimations have been heard; they are unfortunately confirmed. This, therefore, is the moment for us to gather round the ancient tricolored standard; the standard of '89, the standard of freedom, of equal rights, and of public order. Permit then, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to offer you a few preparatory resolutions, whose absolute necessity, I trust, you will feel, as I do." These resolutions declared the chamber to be in permanent session, and all attempts to dissolve it, high treason; and they also called for the four principal ministers to come to the chamber, and explain the state of affairs. Bonaparte was said to have been much agitated, when word was brought him simply that Lafayette was in the tribune; and his fears were certainly not ill founded, for these resolutions, which were at once adopted, both by the representatives and the peers, substantially divested him of his power, and left him merely a factious and dangerous individual in the midst of a distracted state.

He hesitated during the whole day, as to the course he

should pursue : but, at last, hoping that the eloquence of Lucien, which had saved him on the 18th Brumaire, might be found no less effectual now, he sent him with three other ministers to the chamber, just at the beginning of the evening ; having first obtained a vote, that all should pass in secret session. It was certainly a most perilous crisis. Reports were abroad that the populace of the Fauxbourgs had been excited, and were arming themselves. It was believed, too, with no little probability, that Bonaparte would march against the chamber, as he had formerly marched against the council of Five Hundred, and disperse them at the point of the bayonet. At all events, it was a contest for existence, and no man could feel his life safe. At this moment, Lucien rose, and in the doubtful and gloomy light, which two vast torches shed through the hall and over the pale and anxious features of the members, made a partial exposition of the state of affairs, and the projects and hopes he still entertained. A deep and painful silence followed. At length Mr. Jay, well known above twenty years ago in Boston, under the assumed name of Renaud, as a teacher of the French Language, and an able writer in one of the public newspapers of that city ascended the Tribune, and, in a long and vehement speech of great eloquence, exposed the dangers of the country, and ended by proposing to send a deputation to the Emperor, demanding his abdication. Lucien immediately followed. He never showed more power, or a more impassioned eloquence. His purpose was to prove, that France was still devoted to the Emperor, and that its resources were still equal to a contest with the allies. " It is not Napoleon," he cried, " that is attacked, it is the French people. And a proposition is now made to this people, to abandon their Emperor ; to expose the French nation, before the tribunal of the world, to a severe judgment on its levity and inconsistency. No, sir, the honor of this nation shall never be so compromised !" On hearing these words, Lafayette rose. He did not go to the tribune ; but spoke, contrary to rule and custom, from his place. His manner was perfectly calm, but marked with the very spirit of rebuke ; and he addressed himself, not to the President, but directly to Lucien. " The assertion, which has just been uttered, is a calumny. Who shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconstancy to the Emperor Napoleon ? That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt and through the wastes of

Russia ; over fifty fields of battle ; in disaster as faithfully as in victory ; and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the loss of three millions of Frenchmen." These few words made an impression on the Assembly, which could not be mistaken or resisted ; and, as Lafayette ended, Lucien himself bowed respectfully to him, and, without resuming his speech sat down.

It was determined to appoint a deputation of five members from each chamber, to meet the grand council of the ministers, and deliberate in committee, on the measures to be taken. This body sat during the night, under the presidency of Cambaceres, Arch Chancellor of the empire. The first thing that was done in this committee was to devise and arrange every possible means of resisting the invasion of the allies and the Bourbons ; and Lafayette was foremost in giving the Government, for this purpose, every thing that could be asked. But it was apparent, from the representations of the ministers themselves, that they could carry on the war no longer. Lafayette then moved that a deputation should be sent to Napoleon, demanding his abdication. The Arch Chancellor refused to put the motion ; but it was as much decided, as if it had been formally carried. The next morning, June 22d, the Emperor sent in his abdication, and Lafayette was on the committee that went to the Thuilleries to thank him for it, on behalf of the nation.

It had been the intention of a majority of both chambers, from the moment of their convocation, to form a free constitution for the country, and to call the whole people to arms to resist the invasion. In both of these great purposes, they had been constantly opposed by Bonaparte, and in the few hurried and anxious days that preceded the battle of Waterloo, there had been time to do very little. There was now nothing but confusion. A project was arranged to place Lafayette at the head of affairs ; because it was known that he could carry with him the confidence of the nation, and especially that of the National Guards, whom he would immediately have called out *en masse*. But a scene of most unworthy intrigues was immediately begun. A crude, provisional government was established, with the infamous Fouche, as its President, which lasted only a few days, and whose principal measure was the sending of a deputation to the allied powers, of which Lafayette was the head, to endeavor to stop the invasion of France. This of course fail-



ed, as had been foreseen; Paris surrendered on the 3d of July, and what remained of the representative government, which Bonaparte had created for his own purposes, but which Lafayette had turned against him, was soon afterwards dissolved. Its doors were found guarded on the morning of the 8th, but by what authority has never been known; and the members met at Lafayette's house, entered their formal protest, and went quietly to their own homes.

Lafayette retired immediately to La Grange, from which, in fact, he had been only a month absent, and resumed at once his agricultural employments. There, in the midst of a family of twenty children and grand children, who all look up to him as their patriarchal chief, he lives in a simple and sincere happiness rarely granted to those, who have borne such a leading part in the troubles and sufferings of a great period of political revolution. Since 1817 he has been twice elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and in all his votes has shown himself constant to his ancient principles. When the ministry proposed to establish a censorship of the press, he resisted them in an able speech; but Lafayette was never a factious man, and therefore he has never made any further opposition to the present order of things in France, than his conscience and his official place required. That he does not approve the present constitution of the monarchy, or the political principles and management of the existing government, his votes as a deputy, and his whole life, plainly show; and that his steady and temperate opposition is matter of serious anxiety to the family now on the throne is apparent, from their conduct towards him during the last nine years, and their management of the public press since he has been in this country. If he chose to make himself a Tribune of the people, he might at any moment become formidable; but he trusts rather to the progress of general intelligence and political wisdom throughout the nation, which he feels sure will, at last, bring his country to the practically free government, he has always been ready to sacrifice his life to purchase for it. To this great result he looks forward, as Madame de Stael has well said of him, with the entire confidence a pious man enjoys in a future life; but, when he feels anxious and impatient to hasten onward to it, he finds a wisdom tempered by long experience stirring within him, which warns him, in the beautiful language of Milton, that "they also serve who only stand and wait."

This is the distinguished personage, who, after an absence of eight and thirty years, is now come to visit the nation, for whose independence and freedom he hazarded whatever is most valued in human estimation, almost half a century ago. He comes, too, at the express invitation of the entire people; he is literally the "Guest of the Nation;" but the guest, it should be remembered, of another generation, than the one he originally came to serve. We rejoice at it. We rejoice, in common with the thousands who throng his steps wherever he passes, that we are permitted to offer this tribute of a gratitude and veneration, which cannot be misinterpreted, to one, who suffered with our fathers for our sake; but we rejoice yet more for the moral effect it cannot fail to produce on us, both as individuals and as a people. For it is no common spectacle, which is now placed before *each of us* for our instruction. We are permitted to see one, who, by mere force of principle, by plain and resolved integrity, has passed with perfect consistency, through more remarkable extremes of fortune, than any man now alive, or, perhaps, any man on record. We are permitted to see one who has borne a leading and controlling part in two hemispheres, and in the two most important revolutions the world has yet seen, and has come forth from both of them without the touch of dishonor. We are permitted to see that man, who first put in jeopardy his rank and fortune at home, in order to serve as a volunteer in the cause of Free Institutions in America, and afterwards hazarded his life at the bar of the National Assembly, to arrest the same cause, when it was tending to excess and violence. We are permitted to see the man, who, after three years of unbroken political triumph, stood in the midst of half a million of his countrymen, comprehending whatever was great, wise, and powerful in the nation, with the *oriflamme* of the monarchy at his feet, and the confidence of all France following his words, as he swore on their behalf to a free constitution; and yet remained undazzled and unseduced by his vast, his irresistible popularity. We are permitted to see the man, who, for the sake of the same principles to which he had thus sworn, and in less than three years afterwards, was condemned to such obscure sufferings, that his very existence became doubtful to the world, and the place of his confinement was effectually hidden from the inquiries of his friends, who sent emissaries over half Europe to discover it; and yet remained unshaken and undismayed, constantly refu-

sing all appearance of compromise with his persecutors and oppressors. We are, in short, permitted to see a man, who has professed, amidst glory and suffering, in triumph and in disgrace, the same principles of political freedom on both sides of the Atlantic ; who has maintained the same tone, the same air, the same open confidence, amidst the ruins of the Bastille, in the Champ de Mars, under the despotism of Bonaparte, and in the dungeons of Olmutz.

We may be allowed, too, to add, that we rejoice in General Lafayette's visit *on his own account*. He enjoys a singular distinction : for it is a strange thing in the providence of God, one that never happened before, and will, probably, never happen again, that an individual from a remote quarter of the world, having assisted to lay the foundation of a great nation, should be permitted thus to visit the posterity of those he served, and witness on a scale so vast, the work of his own sacrifices ; the result of grand principles in government for which he contended before their practical effect had been tried ; the growth and maturity of institutions, which he assisted to establish, when their operation could be calculated only by the widest and most clear sighted circumspection. We rejoice in it, for it is, we doubt not, the most gratifying and appropriate reward, that could be offered to a spirit like his. In the beautiful phrase which Tacitus has applied to Germanicus, *fruitur fama* ; for he must be aware, that the ocean which rolls between us and Europe, operates like the grave on all feelings of passion and party, and that the voice of gratitude and admiration, which now rises to greet him, from every city, every village, and every heart, of this wide land, is as pure and sincere as the voice of posterity.

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### **BARON DE STEUBEN,**

Major-General in the American Army.

FREDERICK WILLIAM STEUBEN was a native of Prussia, and born in the year 1735. Being designed for the profession of arms, he received a military education, and was early engaged in military employments. His military science, undoubted bravery, and assiduous attention to duty, did not escape the penetration of the great Frederick ; and soon procured for the young Baron the confidence of his sove-



reign, and the most honorable preferment. For many years, he served in the memorable campaigns of his sovereign, the greatest commander of the age, with distinguished reputation. This was a school, in which the dullest could hardly fail of acquiring experience and knowledge in the art of war; and at the same time opened a field, sufficiently capacious for the most ardent aspirant for military fame. The war, which was terminated by the peace of 1763, in which France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Saxony, were united against Prussia, and which was commenced on the part of the allies, for the conquest and spoliation of the dominions of his Prussian majesty, afforded the boldest and most successful campaigns, and the most splendid victories, of any in modern times. The exertions of the king of Prussia, in sustaining himself, with the assistance of Great Britain, as his ally, against so many, and so powerful enemies, was truly astonishing. But his active genius overcame all difficulties, taught his enemies to respect him, and secured to him a military reputation, not second to any commander of the age. To have served with this great general, in his memorable campaigns, and taken a part in such great and splendid victories as those of Prague, Lissa, Crevelt, Zoondorff, Mindin and Torgau, was sufficient to confer experience, and establish a military character, of no ordinary distinction. But to have performed this service, under a commander so severe, with success and honor, and to have secured his highest confidence, was a more conclusive proof of military genius and talents. And that Baron Steuben did this, is sufficiently evident, from the single fact, was there no other, of his having served as aid to his Prussian majesty; who would have no officer around his person, that did not sustain the first reputation, for courage and capacity. The Baron rose to the high rank of lieutenant-general in the Prussian service.

At the breaking out of the American war, there was a general peace in Europe; which favored the wishes of those patriots and adventurers in that hemisphere, who desired to signalize their valor and patriotism, in assisting an infant people, struggling for their rights. Among the numerous foreigners, who honored the American cause, by crossing the Atlantic to serve it, some no doubt acted from no other motive, than those which usually govern the conduct of military adventurers. Many however, without doubt, were influenced by more noble and exalted motives;

a regard for liberty, and a sincere desire to establish it in the new world ; which might serve both as an asylum, and an example for the old. And, notwithstanding the arbitrary government of Prussia, under which he had lived, such were the sentiments and views of Baron de Steuben. His enlightened mind led him to esteem civil liberty, as the highest earthly good ; and he was desirous of consecrating his attachment to it, by his services, if not by his blood. He sailed from France to the United States, and arrived at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, in November, 1777. He brought with him strong recommendations from the American commissioners at Paris, and others, to congress. Notwithstanding which, however, he informed that body, that he wished for no rank, or compensation, and only requested permission, as a volunteer, to render what service he could to the American army, and the cause in which the country was engaged. The following winter he spent at Valley Forge ; where the American army was in winter quarters, under Washington. As is well known, the army at this time was in a most suffering condition ; being in want of provisions, clothing, and almost every thing which their comfort required. But, notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Baron de Steuben exerted himself, with great assiduity, to improve the discipline and manœuvres of the army. From his great military science and experience, his prudent conduct, and the interest he manifested in the cause he had espoused, he soon acquired the confidence of Washington. Early in the year 1778, General Conway resigned the office of inspector-general ; and Washington, sensible of the great military skill and acquirements of Steuben, immediately recommended him to congress, for that important post : which was soon after conferred on him, with the rank of Major-general.

Being clothed with authority, and it being now his particular duty to attend to the discipline of the troops, his distinguished talents as a tactician, were soon rendered conspicuous in the improved discipline of the troops. He exerted himself to introduce a uniform and improved system of manœuvres, and by his skill, perseverance and industry, effected, during the continuance of the troops at Valley Forge, a most important and advantageous improvement in the discipline of all ranks of the army.

After General Arnold had treacherously deserted his post at West Point, the Baron never failed to manifest his

indignation and abhorrence of his name and character, and while inspecting Col. Sheldon's regiment of light-horse, the name of Arnold struck his ear. The soldier was ordered to the front; he was a fine looking fellow, his horse and equipments in excellent order—"Change your name, brother soldier," said the Baron, "you are too respectable to bear the name of a traitor." "What name shall I take, General?" "Take any other name; mine is at your service." Most cheerfully was the offer accepted, and his name was entered on the roll as Steuben. He or his children now enjoy the land given to him in the town of Steuben by the Baron. This brave soldier met him after the war. "I am well settled, General," said he, "and have a wife and son; I have called my son after you, Sir." "I thank you, my friend; what name have you given the boy?" "I called him Baron—what else could I call him?"

When Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, for New-York, and was pursued by Washington, Steuben accompanied the American army; and although he had no particular command, he volunteered in the action at Monmouth. He continued his exertions to improve the discipline of the army, and to introduce his system, and thus establish uniformity throughout the different corps of the army: and for this purpose, in 1779, an abstract of his system of discipline and tactics was published, in compliance with the wishes of the commander in chief, and of congress. This, being put into the hands of all the officers, had a wonderful influence in improving, and giving uniformity to the different corps of the army.

In October 1780, after the defeat and dispersion of the southern army at Camden, under General Gates, great anxiety was felt for the fate of the southern states; and congress, in a particular manner, directed their attention to the state of the war in that department. General Greene was appointed to supersede Gates; Major Lee was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and ordered to join the southern army, with his legionary corps; and Baron de Steuben was directed to proceed to Virginia, to organize, from the militia and other elements which the state afforded, the means of defence against the forces of the enemy, then in the state, and threatening the destruction of its principal towns.

While upon this duty, a regiment had been collected, and was paraded on the point of marching, when a well-



looking man on horseback, rode up and informed the Baron that he had brought him a recruit. "I thank you, Sir," said the Baron, "with all my heart—where is your man, Colonel?" for he was a colonel in the militia. "Here, Sir," ordering his boy to dismount. The Baron's countenance changed, for he was too honest to suffer an imposition to be practised on the public. A sergeant was ordered to measure the lad, whose shoes, when off, discovered something by which his stature had been increased. The Baron, patting the child's head, with his hands trembling with rage, asked him how old he was? He was very young, quite a child. "Sir," said he, to the militia colonel, "you must have supposed me to be a rascal." "Oh no! Baron, I did not." "Then, Sir, I suppose you to be a rascal, an infamous rascal, thus to attempt to cheat your country. Sergeant, take off this fellow's spurs and place him in the ranks, that we have a man able to serve instead of an infant, whom he would basely have made his substitute! Go, my boy, take the colonel's spurs and horse to his wife; make my compliments, and say, her husband has gone to fight for the freedom of his country, as an honest man should do,"—and instantly ordered—"Platoons! to the right wheel—forward, march!"

Colonel Gaskins, who commanded the regiment, fearing the consequences, after marching some distance, allowed the man to escape, who immediately made application to the civil authority for redress; but Gov. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and others, not doubting the purity of the Barons motive, and fully appreciating his honest zeal, prevented any disagreeable results attending this high-handed exertion of military power.

Great apprehensions were felt for the safety of Richmond, threatened by the British General Leslie at Portsmouth; but about the time the Baron arrived at the capital of Virginia, the enemy left Portsmouth, which prevented the necessity of those measures which had been planned for his expulsion, and Virginia, for a short time, remained tranquil. Early in January, '81, however, this repose was disturbed by the arrival of the traitor Arnold in the Chesapeake, who landed his forces on the James River, a few miles below Richmond. His ravages were immediately felt at Richmond, Smithfield, and other places. Baron de Steuben exerted himself to collect and organize a force of militia to oppose his destructive progress. This induced Ar-

nold to retire to Portsmouth, and commence works of defence. But the militia came in slow, and a considerable portion of which being without arms, the Baron could do no more than protect the country from the predatory incursions of small parties. These movements in Virginia induced congress to order La Fayette to the south, to oppose Arnold, with the expected co-operation of the French fleet. All the troops of the continental establishment of Virginia, being under General Greene, in South Carolina, the defence of the state, against the depredations of the enemy, rested on the militia, of which the Baron had collected about 2,000; one half were on the north side of James River, under General Nelson, and with the other half the Baron made an attempt to protect Petersburg, but his means being wholly inadequate to the object, he was obliged to retreat, and suffer the enemy to enter the town. Previous to this, Arnold had been reinforced by General Phillips, who had taken the chief command. The Baron could do no more than watch the motions of the enemy, and check the predatory incursions of small parties.

On the arrival of the Marquis Lafayette, with a small force of regulars, he joined Steuben, and took upon him the chief command. Their united force checked the progress of General Phillips, and compelled him to turn his steps towards City-Point, where his fleet lay.

In the various marches and counter-marches which characterized the operations between Lafayette and Lord Cornwallis, who soon after assumed the command of the British forces in Virginia, the Baron Steuben afforded the most prompt and ready assistance to the young Marquis. He was stationed at Point Fork with five hundred new levies, to protect the American stores, when Tarleton was ordered to destroy them; and as the enemy approached, being led into a belief that the whole British army was near, he deemed it advisable to make a rapid retreat during the night, leaving all the stores to fall a sacrifice to the enemy. But though he lost the stores, he saved his men, and succeeded in joining the Marquis, at the same time that he received a reinforcement of the rifle corps, under Colonel Clark, which enabled the Marquis to assume a more imposing attitude. The Baron continued to co-operate with Lafayette in the subsequent events of the campaign, which was terminated by the siege of Yorktown. He generally had the command of militia, or of new levies, and was improving their disci-

pline whilst he was aiding the operations of the Maquis. He was present during the siege of Yorktown, and exerted himself with great ardor in the various operations, and commanded in the trenches on the day the enemy surrendered, and was entitled to a share in the honor of this memorable siege, which so gloriously terminated the great struggle in which the country was engaged.

"At the siege of Yorktown the Baron was in the trenches, at the head of his division, and received the first overture of Lord Cornwallis, to capitulate. At the relieving hour, next morning, the Marquis de la Fayette approached at the head of his division, to relieve him. The Baron refused to quit the trenches, assigning as a reason the etiquette in Europe, that the offer to capitulate had been made during his tour of duty, and that it was a point of honor of which he would not deprive his troops, to remain in the trenches till the capitulation was signed or hostilities recommenced. The dispute was referred to the commander in chief, and the Baron was permitted to remain till the British flag was struck. While on this duty, the Baron, perceiving himself in danger from a shell thrown from the enemy, threw himself suddenly into the trench; General Wayne, in the jeopardy and hurry of the moment, fell on him; the Baron, turning his eyes, saw it was his brigadier, 'I always knew you were brave, general,' said he, "but I did not know you were so perfect in every point of duty, you cover your general's retreat in the best manner possible."\*

The Baron returned to the northward, and remained with the army, continually employed, till the peace, in perfecting its discipline.

"At the disbandment of the revolutionary army, when inmates of the same tent, or hut, for seven long years, were separating, and probably forever; grasping each other's hand, in silent agony, I saw," says Dr. Thatcher in his Military Journal, "the Baron's strong endeavors to throw some ray of sunshine on the gloom, to mix some drop of cordial with the painful draught. To go, they knew not whither; all recollection of the art to thrive by civil occupations, lost, or to the youthful never known. Their hard-earned military knowledge worse than useless, and with their badge of brotherhood, a mark at which to point the finger of suspicion—ignoble, vile suspicion! to be cast out on a world, long since



by them forgotten. Severed from friends, and all the joys and griefs which soldiers feel ! Griefs, while hope remained—when shared by numbers, almost joys ! To go in silence and alone, and poor and hopeless ; it was too hard ! On that sad day how many hearts were wrung ! I saw it all, nor will the scene be ever blurred or blotted from my view. To a stern old officer, a Lieutenant-Colonel Cochran, from the Green Mountains, who had met danger and difficulty almost in every step, from his youth, and from whose furrowed visage, a tear till that moment had never fallen ; the good Baron said—what could be said, to lessen deep distress ? For myself, said Cochran, “ I care not, I can stand it ; but my wife and daughters are in the garret of that wretched tavern. I know not where to remove, nor have I means for their removal ! ” ‘ Come, my friend,’ said the Baron, ‘ let us go—I will pay my respects to Mrs. Cochran and your daughters, if you please.’ “ I followed to the loft, the lower rooms being all filled with soldiers, with drunkenness, despair and blasphemy. And when the Baron left the poor unhappy cast-aways, he left hope with them, and all he had to give.” A black man, with wounds unhealed, wept on the wharf—for it was at Newburgh where this tragedy was acting)—there was a vessel in the stream, bound to the place where he once had friends. He had not a dollar to pay his passage, and he could not walk. Unused to tears, I saw them trickle down this good man’s cheeks as he put into the hands of the black man the last dollar he possessed. The negro hailed the sloop, and cried, ‘ God Almighty bless you, master Baron ! ’

What good and honorable man, civil or military, before the accursed party-spirit murdered friendships, did not respect and love the Baron ? Who most ? Those who knew him best. After the peace the Baron retired to a farm in the vicinity of New York, where, with forming a system for the organization and discipline of the militia, books, chess, and the frequent visits of his numerous friends, he passed his time as agreeably as a frequent want of funds would permit. The State of New-Jersey had given him a small improved farm, and the State of New-York gave him a tract of sixteen thousand acres of land in the county of Oneida. After the general government was in full operation, by the exertions of Col. Hamilton, patronized and enforced by President Washington, a grant of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum was made to him for life. The summers

were now chiefly spent on his land, and his winters in the city. His sixteen thousand acres of land were in the uncultivated wilderness ; he built a convenient log house, cleared sixty acres, parcelled out his land on easy terms to twenty or thirty tenants, distributed nearly a tenth of the tract in gifts to his aids-de-camp and servants, and sat him himself down to a certain degree contented without society, except that of a young gentleman who read to and with him. He ate only at dinner, but he ate with strong appetite. In drinking he was always temperate ; indeed he was free from every vicious habit. His powers of mind and body were strong, and he received, to a certain extent, a liberal education. His days were undoubtedly shortened by his sedentary mode of life. He was seized with an apoplexy, which in a few hours was fatal. Agreeable to his desire often expressed, he was wrapped in his cloak, placed in a plain coffin, and hid in the earth, without a stone to tell where he lies. A few neighbors, his servants, the young gentleman his late companion, and one on whom for fifteen years his countenance never ceased to beam with kindness, followed to the grave. It was in a thick, a lonely wood, but in a few years after a public highway was opened near or over the hallowed sod ! Col. Walker snatched the poor remains of his dear friend from sacrilegious violation, and gave a bounty to protect the grave in which he laid them, from rude and impious intrusion. He died in 1795, in the 65th year of his age.”\*

Baron Steuben possessed profound and extensive professional knowledge, the result of much study and experience, which was united with a competent share of general science and intelligence, matured by great experience ; he was accomplished in his manners, correct in his morals, and was sincerely attached to the dearest interests of humanity. His system of discipline and tactics was adopted in the militia of the United States, and continued to be used for a great number years ; and had a very extensive and salutary influence in promoting discipline and knowledge of the use of arms.

\* Thacher's Military Journal.

# **BIOGRAPHY**

OF

## **REVOLUTIONARY NAVAL OFFICERS.**

**JOHN PAUL JONES,**

Commodore in the American Navy.

THE following interesting narrative is extracted from a French manuscript, written by himself. While we condemn the author for his egotism, we must make great allowances, on that account, for the splendid success that attended his enterprizes, and estimate his vanity by the reasons he had to be vain. Few even, perhaps, circumstanced as Paul Jones was, would have praised themselves less than he has done in this sketch ; which possesses the singular merit of being substantially correct in all its parts, so far as we are informed of the matter.

“ At the commencement of the American war (during the year 1775) I was employed to fit out the little squadron, which the congress had placed under Commodore Hopkins, who was appointed to the command of all the armed vessels appertaining to America ; and I hoisted, with my own hands, the American flag, on board the Alfred, which was then displayed for the first time.

The cruelties and vexations, at that time exercised by Dunmore, in Virginia, determined the congress to detach the squadron against him. After a delay of two months, the squadron was at length disengaged and set sail for New Providence, the principal of the Bahama Islands. There we found a large quantity of artillery, mortars, and other implements of warfare, of which we stood greatly in want in America ; and I had the good fortune to render myself extremely useful to the commodore, who was but little acquainted with military operations.

On our return from New-Providence, we took two armed vessels, one of which was loaded with bombs, and fell in,



near Rhode-Island, with an English man of war, called the Glasgow, carrying twenty-four guns ; but, notwithstanding our superiority, both in point of force and sailing, the commander in chief suffered her to escape, after having lost many men killed and wounded, both on board the Alfred and the Cabot.

The squadron now entered the port of New-London, in Connecticut. A council of war having dismissed the captain of the Providence, one of the ships of the squadron ; the commodore gave me orders in writing to take the command of her, and to escort some troops that were proceeding from Rhode-Island to New-York, with a view of serving under General Washington. After this, I received instructions to escort a convoy of artillery from Rhode-Island to New-York, for the defence of which it was destined. On this occasion, I had two different engagements with the Cerberus frigate ; the first for the protection of the vessels under my command, and the second for the preservation of a vessel from St. Domingo, laden with naval stores for the congress. In the course of my service between Boston and New-York, I had also many actions with ships of war under the command of Lord Howe ; but on these as on former occasions, I was enabled to preserve my convoy, and I at length arrived safe in the Delaware, August 1, 1776.

On the 8th of the same month the president of the congress presented me in person, with the commission of captain in the marine of the United States ; this was the first granted by congress since the declaration of independence, which took place on the 4th of July of that same year.

Orders had been given for the construction of thirteen frigates : but, as none of them was yet ready, I proceeded to sea alone, on board the Providence, which was a vessel of but small force, as she carried no more than seventy men, and twelve small cannon. When in the neighborhood of Bermudas, we fell in with the Solebay, and her convoy, from Charleston ; she was a thirty-two gun frigate, and formed part of the squadron under Admiral Parker. I was of course desirous of avoiding an engagement with such superior force : but, as my officers and men insisted that it was the Jamaica fleet, as it was necessary to command by means of persuasion, at this epoch of the war, the result was a serious engagement during six hours, which towards the close, was carried on within pistol shot. A desperate ma-

nœuvre was the sole resource left me ; I attempted this, it succeeded, and I was fortunate enough to disengage myself.

A short time after this, I took several prizes, and then sailed towards the coast of Nova Scotia, on purpose to destroy the whale and cod fisheries in that neighborhood. When near Sable Island, we fell in with the Milford frigate, carrying thirty-two guns, with which it was impossible to avoid an engagement. A cannonade accordingly took place, from ten o'clock in the morning until sunset ; but the engagement was neither so close nor so hot as that with the Solebay, and I at length escaped by passing through the flats, and entered a little harbor next day, where I destroyed the fishery and vessels.

After this I set sail for Ile Madame, where I made two descents, at the same time destroying the fisheries, and burning all the vessels I could not carry away with me. Having accomplished this, I returned to Rhode-Island, after an absence of six weeks and five days from the Delaware ; during this interval I had taken sixteen prizes, without including those destroyed.

The commander in chief, who had remained all this time in harbor, now adopted a plan proposed by me, and which consisted,

1. In the destruction of the enemy's fisheries, at Ile Royale ; and

2. Of restoring to liberty more than three hundred American prisoners detained there in the coal mines.—Three vessels were destined for this service, the Alfred, the Hampden, and the Providence ; but the Hampden having received considerable damage in consequence of running on a rock, could not accompany me. I, however, embarked on board the Alfred, and taking the Providence by way of consort, I set sail, and on the 2d of November, 1776, made prize of a vessel from Liverpool, and soon after the Melish, a large armed vessel, having two British naval officers on board, and a captain belonging to the land service, with a company of soldiers. This ship was carrying ten thousand complete sets of uniform to Canada, for the army posted there under the orders of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne.

The Providence having now left the Alfred during the night, without the least pretext whatever, I remained alone, and that too during the stormy season, on the enemy's coast ; but notwithstanding this, and that I was also greatly embar-

rassed with my prisoners, I resolved not to renounce my project. I accordingly effected a descent, destroyed a transport of great value, and also burned the magazines and buildings destined for the whale and cod fishery.

Having returned to Boston, December 10, 1776, the intelligence of the uniforms taken on board the *Mellish*, re-animated the courage of the army under General Washington, which at that period happened to be almost destitute of clothing. Let me add also, that this unexpected succor contributed not a little to the success of the affair at Trenton against the Hessians, which took place immediately after my arrival.

The season being now too far advanced for the execution of the scheme in the West Indies, myself and crew received orders to remove on board the *Amphytrite*, a French vessel, destined to sail from Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, to France, whence we were to pass into Holland, and take possession of the *Indienne*, a large frigate, constructing there for the congress.

In the month of January, 1778, I repaired to Paris, to make the necessary arrangements with the American ministers, relative to the equipment of the *Indienne*; but, as the English ambassador at the Hague, in consequence of obtaining possession of the papers of an American agent, found that the *Indienne* was the property of congress, I acquiesced in the opinion of the American ministers; and it was determined to cede the property to his most christian majesty, this being the most likely method of preserving the property.

In the month of February, 1776, the parliament of England had authorised George III. to treat all the Americans taken at sea, with arms in their hands, as traitors, pirates, and felons: this, more than any other circumstance, rendered me the declared enemy of Great Britain.

Indignant at the barbarous treatment experienced by the Americans, I determined to make a grand effort in their behalf, with a view of stopping the barbarous proceedings of the English in Europe, as well as on the western continent; in the latter of which they set fire to their houses, destroyed their property, and burned and destroyed whole towns. I accordingly determined, by way of retaliation, to effect a descent upon some part of England, with a view of destroying the shipping. It was also my intention to make some person of distinction prisoner, whom I resolved to detain



as a hostage for the security of, and in order to exchange with, the American prisoners in England.

I accordingly sailed from Brest, and set sail for the coast of Scotland. It was my intention to take the Earl of Selkirk prisoner, and detain his lordship as a hostage, in conformity to the project already mentioned. It was with this view about noon of the same day I landed on that nobleman's estate, with two officers and a few men. In the course of my progress, I fell in with some of the inhabitants, who, taking me for an Englishman, observed, that Lord Selkirk was then in London, but that her ladyship and several ladies were at the castle.

On this, I determined to return ; but such moderate conduct was not conformable to the wishes of my people, who were disposed to pillage, burn, and destroy every thing, in imitation of the conduct of the English towards the Americans. Although I was not disposed to copy such horrid proceedings, more especially when a lady was in question, it was yet necessary to recur to such means as should satisfy their cupidity, and, at the same time, provide for Lady Selkirk's safety. It immediately appeared to me, to be the most proper mode to give orders to the two officers to repair to the castle with the men, who were to remain on the out side under arms, while they themselves entered alone. They were then instructed to enter, and demand the family plate, in a polite manner, accepting whatever was offered them, and then return without making any further inquiries, or attempting to search for more.

I was punctually obeyed ; the plate was delivered : Lady Selkirk herself observed to the officers, that she was exceedingly sensible of my moderation ; she even intimated a wish to repair to the shore, although a mile distance from her residence, in order to invite me to dinner ; but the officers would not allow her ladyship to take so much trouble.

I had no sooner arrived at Brest, than Admiral the Count D'Orvilliers transmitted an account of my expedition to the minister of the marine, in consequence of which it was intimated to Dr. Franklin, that his majesty was desirous that I should repair to Versailles, as he was resolved to employ me on a secret expedition, for which purpose he would give me the *Indienne*, with some other frigates, with troops, &c. for the purpose of effecting a descent.

But, in a short time after this, hostilities took place between France and England in consequence of the action with *La Belle Poule*. This not a little embarrassed the Minister of the Marine, and the difficulty was not diminished by the intelligence brought by the Prince, who asserted that the Dutch would not permit the *Indienne* to be equipped.

I now received orders to escort a fleet of transports and merchantmen from L'Orient, destined for different ports between that and Bordeaux; and after that I was to chase away the English cruisers from the Bay of Biscay, and then to return for further orders.

After executing this commission, on my representing how necessary it was to make a diversion in favor of the count D'Orvilliers, then cruising in the Channel, with sixty-six ships of the line, I received a *carte blanche* during six weeks, without any other restriction than that of repairing to the Texel, by the first of October. By this time, I received intimation from England, that eight East Indiamen were soon expected on the coast of Ireland, near to Limerick. This was an object of great attention; and as there were two privateers at Port L'Orient ready for sea, *Le Monsieur*, of forty guns, and *Le Granville*, of fourteen, the captains of which offered to place themselves under my orders, I accepted the proposition. But the French commissary who superintended the naval department, acted with great impropriety on this, as well as on many former occasions.

The little squadron at length set sail from the road of Groays, on the fourteenth of August, 1779; but we had no sooner proceeded to the north of the mouth of the Channel, than *Le Monsieur* and *Le Granville* abandoned me during the night, and *Le Cerf* soon after imitated their conduct. I was extremely anxious to cruise for a fortnight in the latitude of Limerick: but the captain of the *Alliance*, after objecting to this, also left me during the night; and as I had now with me only the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, I was obliged to renounce my original intentions.

I took two prizes on the coast of Ireland; and, within sight of Scotland, came up and seized two privateers, of twenty-two guns each, which, with a brigantine, I sent to Bergen, in Norway, according to the orders I had received from Dr. Franklin: these prizes, however, were restored to the English by the king of Denmark.

When I entered the North Sea, I captured several ves-

sels, and learned by my prisoners, as well as by the newspapers, that the capital of Scotland and the port of Leith were left totally defenceless. I also understood at the same time, that my information relative to the eight Indiamen was correct ; they having entered Limerick three days after I had been obliged to leave the neighborhood of that port.

As there was only a twenty gun ship and two cutters in Leith Road, I deemed it practicable to lay those two places under contribution. I had indeed no other force to execute this project, than the *Richard*, the *Pallas*, and the *Vengeance* ; but I well knew, that in order to perform a brilliant action, it is not always necessary to possess great means. I therefore held out the prospect of great booty to the captains under my command ; and, as to myself, I was satisfied with the idea of making a diversion in favor of the Count D'Orvilliers, who was then in the Channel.

I now distributed red clothes to my men, and put some of them on board the prizes, so as to give them the appearance of transports full of troops. All the necessary arrangements were also taken to carry the enterprise into execution : but, about a quarter of an hour before the descent was to have been made, a sudden tempest arose, and drove me out of the Forth, or Edinburgh Frith, and so violent was the storm that one of my prizes was lost.

This did not, however, deter me, notwithstanding the smallness of my forces, from forming different enterprizes of a similar nature : but I could not induce the captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* to second my views ; I was therefore obliged to content myself by spreading alarm on the coast, and destroying the shipping, which I did as far as Hull.

On the morning of the 23d September, while I was cruising in the latitude of Flamboroug Head, which I had appointed as a place of rendezvous for my little squadron, and where I hoped to be rejoined by the *Alliance* and *Le Cerf*, and also to fall in with the Baltic fleet ; this convoy accordingly appeared, at a time when I had been abandoned by several of my consorts, had lost two boats, with their crews, who had run away on the coast of Ireland, and when a third, with eighteen men on board, was in chase of a merchantman to the windward, leaving me with a scanty crew, and only a single lieutenant and some inferior officers, on board.

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon that the Baltic



fleet appeared in view; I then happened to have the wind of it, and was about two leagues distant from the coast of England. I learned from my prisoners, that the convoy was escorted by the *Serapis*, a new vessel, that could mount fifty-six guns, but then carried only forty-four, on two decks, the lower battery carrying eighteen pounders, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, a new twenty-two gun ship.

We were no sooner descried than the armed vessels stood out to sea, while the trade took refuge under the cannon of Scarborough Castle.

As there was but little wind, I could not come up with the enemy before night. The moon did not rise until eight, and at the close of day the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* tacked and stood in for the fortress. I was lucky enough to discover this manœuvre by means of my night glass, without which I should have remained in ignorance of it. On this I immediately altered my course six points, with a view of cutting off the enemy; which was no sooner perceived by the *Pallas*, than it was supposed my crew had mutinied, which induced her captain to *haul his wind*, and stand out to sea while the *Alliance* lay to, to windward, at a considerable distance: and, as the captain of the vessel had never paid any attention whatever to the signals of the *Richard* since her leaving France, I was obliged to run all risks and enter into action with the *Richard* only, to prevent the enemy's escape.

I accordingly began the engagement at 7 o'clock at night, within pistol shot of the *Serapis*, and sustained the brunt of her fire, and also that of the *Countess of Scarborough*, which *raked* the *Richard*, by means of the broadsides she fired into her stern.

It ought to be here remarked, that the *Richard*, properly speaking, was only a thirty-four gun frigate, carrying only twelve-pounders; but six eighteen-pounders had been placed in the gun room, in case of being obliged to recur to a cannonade in an enemy's harbor. The sea being very calm during the engagement, I hoped to be able to derive great advantage from this circumstance; but instead of this, they burst at the commencement of the action, and the officers and men, posted at this service, and who were selected as the best of the whole crew, were either killed, wounded, or affrighted to such a degree, that none of them were of any service during the rest of the engagement.

In this unfortunate extremity, having to contend with

three times my own strength, the *Richard* being in imminent danger of going to the bottom, and her guns being no longer in a condition to return the enemy's fire, I had recourse to a dangerous expedient, to grapple with the *Serapis*, in order, on the one hand, to render her superiority useless, and, on the other, to cover ourselves from the fire of her consort. This manœuvre succeeded most admirably, and I fastened the *Serapis*, with my own hands to the *Richard*. On this, the captain of the *Countess of Scarborough*, who was a natural son of the Duke of Northumberland, conducted himself like a man of sense, and from that moment ceased to fire upon us, well knowing that he must at the same time damage the *Serapis*.

That vessel being to windward at the moment we had grappled, instantly dropped her anchor, hoping by this to disengage herself from us ; but this did not answer her expectations, and the engagement from that moment, consisted of the discharge of great guns, swivels, musquetry, and grenades.—The English at first, testified a desire to board the *Richard*, but they no sooner saw the danger than they desisted. The enemy however, possessed the advantage of their two batteries, besides the guns on their fore-castle, and quarter-deck, while our cannon was either burst or abandoned, except four pieces on the fore-castle, which were also relinquished during some minutes. Mr. Mease, the officer who commanded these guns, had been dangerously wounded on the head, and having, at that period, no greater object to occupy my attention, I myself took his post. A few sailors came to my assistance of their own accord, and served the two guns next to the enemy with surprising courage and address. A short time after this, I received sufficient assistance to be able to remove one of the fore-castle guns from the opposite side ; but we had not strength sufficient to remove the other, so that we could only bring three guns to bear upon the enemy during the remainder of the action.

The moon, which as I have already observed, rose at eight, beheld the two vessels surrounded by flame, in consequence of the explosion of the cannon. It so happened at this period, that the mainmast of the *Serapis*, which was painted yellow, appeared extremely distinct, so as to form an excellent mark ; on this, I pointed one of my guns at it, taking care to *ram home* the shot. In the mean time, the two other pieces were admirably served against the——and

swept its forecastle, by means of an oblique fire. The *tops* also seconded us bravely, by means of musquetry and swivels, and also threw a multitude of grenades so as greatly to annoy the enemy. By these means they were driven from their quarters, notwithstanding their superiority in point of men and artillery.

The captain of the *Serapis*, after consulting with his officers, resolved to strike ; but an unlucky accident, which occurred on board the *Richard*, prevented this : a bullet having destroyed one of our pumps, the carpenter was seized with a panic, and told the gunner, and another petty officer, that we were sinking. Some one observed at the same time, that both I and the lieutenant were killed : in consequence of which the gunner, considering himself as commanding officer, ran instantly to the quarter-deck, in order to haul down the American colours, which he would have actually hauled down, had not the flag-staff been carried away at the time the *Richard* grappled with the *Serapis*.

The captain, on hearing the gunner express his wishes to surrender, in consequence of his supposing that we were sinking, instantly addressed himself to me and exclaimed, " Do you ask for quarter ?—Do you ask for quarter ?" I was so occupied, at this period, in serving the three pieces of cannon on the forecastle, that I remained totally ignorant of what had occurred on deck ; I replied, however, " I do not dream of surrendering, but I am determined to make you strike !"

The English commander, however, conceived some faint hopes, in consequence of what had been said, that the *Richard* was actually sinking ; but when he perceived that her fire did not diminish, he immediately ordered his men from the forecastle, where they kept up such a tremendous discharge against the *Richard*, that it at once indicated vengeance and despair.

It has already been observed, that when I commenced the action, the *Pallas* was at a great distance to windward, while the *Alliance* lay to in the same position. When the captain of the former perceived that the engagement took place, he spoke to his consort ; but they lost a great deal of time, and it was not until now, that they came within gun shot of the *Countess of Scarborough* and a kind of running fight took place between the latter and the *Pallas*. The *Alliance* followed them, and on passing us, fired a broad-



side, which, as we were closely engaged with the enemy, did no more harm to them than to us.

The battle still continued with uncommon ardor between us and the enemy, whose———or burned, and her main-mast cut away, by degrees, by our bullets; while the heavier metal of the *Serapis* drove in on one of the sides of my ship, and met with little or no resistance. In short, our helm was rendered useless, and the poop was only supported by an old and shattered piece of timber, which alone prevented it from giving way.

At length, after a short engagement, the Countess of Scarborough surrendered to the *Pallas*; it was then that the captain of the latter asked the commander of the Alliance, "whether he would take charge of the prize, or sail and give succor to the commodore?" On this, the Alliance began to stand backwards and forwards under her topsails, until having got to the windward, she came down, and discharged a second broadside against the fore-part of the *Serapis*, and the hind-part of the *Richard*. On this I and several other persons begged, for God's sake, that they would cease firing, and send a few men on board of us; but he disobeyed, and fired another broadside as he passed along; after which he kept at a most respectful distance, and took great care not to expose himself during the remainder of the action, without receiving a single shot, or having a man wounded during the whole engagement.

The idea that we were sinking had taken such possession of the armourer's mind, that he actually opened the scuttles, and made all prisoners, to the number of a hundred, sally forth, in opposition to my reiterated orders. This event might have proved fatal, had I not taken advantage of their affright to station them at the pumps, where they displayed surprising zeal, appearing actually to forget their captivity; for there was nothing to prevent their going on board the *Serapis*; or, it was in their power to put an end to the engagement in an instant, by either killing me, or throwing me into the sea.

As our three quarter-deck guns continued to play without interruption on the enemy, raked her hinder parts, and damaged her mast in such a manner, that it was only supported from falling by the yards of our ship, while the tops poured in a continual discharge; the fire of the English began to deaden in such a manner as to bereave them of all hopes of success.

A circumstance occurred, however, that contributed not a little to the victory of the *Richard*: this was the extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind of a Scotch sailor, posted in the main top: this brave fellow, of his own accord, seized a lighted match, and a basket of hand-grenades, with which he advanced along the main-yard, until he had arrived exactly above the enemy's deck. As the flames of their parapets and shrouds, added to the light of the moon, enabled him to distinguish objects, the moment he perceived two or three persons assembled together, he instantly discharged a hand grenade among them; he had even address enough to drop several through their scuttles, and one of them set fire to the cartridge of an eighteen pounder belonging to the lower deck, the discharge of which scorched several of the crew.

On this, the captain of the *Serapis* came upon the quarter-deck, lowered his flag, and asked for quarter, at the very moment his main-mast had fallen into the sea. He then came on board with his officers, and presented me with his sword. While this was transacting, eight or ten men belonging to the *Richard* seized on the *Serapis'* shallop, which had been at anchor during the engagement, and made off.

It was more than eleven o'clock when the battle ended; it had consequently lasted more than four hours. My ship had no more than 322 men, good, bad and indifferent, on board, at the commencement of the engagement; and the sixty of these, posted in the gun-room when the gun burst, having been of no further service during the action, could not be properly considered as forming part of the crew opposed to the *Serapis*, which had received a supply of English sailors while in Denmark; and it appeared, indeed, by the muster roll, that there were upwards of 400 on board of her, when the first gun was fired. Her superiority was still more considerable in respect to guns, without mentioning her greater weight in metal, which surpassed ours beyond all comparison. Thus, setting aside the damage done by the *Countess of Scarborough*, during the forepart of the action, and also by the three broadsides from the *Alliance*, it will be easy to form a due judgment of the combat between the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, and set a proper value on a victory obtained over a force so greatly superior, after such a long, bloody and close engagement.

The *Vengeance*, a corvette, mounting twelve three pounders, and the boat belonging to the pilot, with my second

lieutenant, another officer, and ten men, would have been of singular service, either in pursuing and capturing the convoy, or by re-enforcing me: but, strange as it may appear, the fact is, that they remained all this time mere speculators of the action, in which they took no interest, keeping themselves to windward, and out of all danger; while, on the other hand, the conduct of the Alliance had, at least, the appearance of proceeding from a principle worse than ignorance or insubordination.

It must appear clear, from what has been already said, that if the enemy's ports were not annoyed, the Baltic fleet taken, and the eight Indiamen seized, the blame did not lie with me.

It is but justice, however, to observe, that some of my officers conducted themselves admirably during the action. The lieutenant, Mr. Dale, being left alone at the guns below, and finding he could not rally his men, came upon deck, and superintended the working of the pumps, notwithstanding he had been wounded. Notwithstanding all his efforts, the hold was more than half full of water when the enemy surrendered.

During the last three hours of the action both the vessels were on fire; by throwing water on the flames, it was sometimes supposed that they were quenched, but they always broke forth anew, and, on the close of the action, we imagined it wholly extinguished. It was very calm during the remainder of the night; but when the wind began to blow, our danger became imminent, the fire having penetrated the timbers, and spread until it had reached within a few inches of the powder-magazine. On this, the ammunition was brought on the deck, to be thrown in the sea, in case of extremity; but we, at length, succeeded in our endeavors, by cutting away a few planks, and employing our buckets.

Next morning the weather was hazy and not a sail to be seen. We then examined the Richard to see if it were possible to carry her into any port. This proving wholly impracticable, all the boats were employed in carrying the wounded on board the other vessels. This occupied much of our time, and on the succeeding day, notwithstanding all our pumps had been at work, the hold was entirely full of water, and the vessel soon after sunk. On this occasion I could only save the signal flags, and I lost all my property, amounting to more than 5,000 livres.

On this I instantly assumed the command of the Serapis.



on which we erected *jury masts*; but the sea was so tempestuous that it was ten days before we reached the Texel.

No sooner was my arrival known than forty-two vessels, forming different squadrons of frigates, were fitted out from the various ports in Great Britain against me, and two of these were stationed during three months at the mouths of the Texel and the Fly. My situation in Holland influenced not a little the conduct of the belligerent powers, at the same time that it excited the attention of all Europe. The English minister at the Hague addressed different memorials to the states general, in all which he insisted that the *Serapis* and the Countess of Scarborough "should be delivered up to the king, his master;" and he, at the same time, claimed me under the appellation of "the Scotch pirate."

Instead of listening to these propositions, the states general permitted me to land my wounded on the island of the Texel, which was delivered up to me for that purpose; on this the British government became furious, and Holland was reduced to so critical a situation, that the states were under the necessity of insisting that I should either leave the Texel, or produce a commission from his most christian majesty, and hoist the French flag.

The prince of Orange, who was attached to the English interest, sent the Vice Admiral Rhynst, who was also English in his heart, to assume the command of the Dutch squadron in the Texel, composed of thirteen two-deckers. This officer drew up his squadron, during six weeks, in such a manner as to menace us; and, in short, did every thing in his power to render my situation both dangerous and disagreeable.

In the mean time I had an interview with the Duke de la Vanguyon, at Amsterdam, who intimated to me, that it was the intention of the king of France that I should hoist his flag during my stay in the Texel, as he imagined, that my prizes would assuredly fall into the enemy's hands if I tried to escape—I, however, refused this honor, as I had declared myself an American officer, and had given a copy of my commission from congress to the Dutch admiral. It was contrived, however, at length, that I should go on board the frigate *Alliance*, the captain of which had been sent to Paris, to give an account of his conduct, and where I should still carry my former colours, while the prizes should hoist the French flag.

At length the wind becoming favorable, on the 27th of February, 1779, the Alliance set sail after having lost all her anchors, one only excepted, in consequence of Admiral Rhynst's instructions to the pilot; and it was at least an hundred to one, that we should fall in with the enemy. I, however, had the good fortune to escape, although the Alliance passed the Straits of Dover, within sight of the English squadron in the Downs. After getting clear of the Channel, I soon reached the latitude of Cape Finisterre, and entered the port of Corunna, January 16, 1780.

On my return to France, I found that the French commissary had made a private sale of my prizes to the king without consulting me. On this I repaired to Versailles, along with Dr. Franklin, but was received with great coolness by the minister of the marine. On this account I declined asking him to represent me to his majesty. This honor was conferred on me next day by the Prince de Beauveau, captain of the guards. The public received me at the opera, and all the public places where I appeared, with the most lively enthusiasm; this, added to the very favorable reception I received from his majesty, afforded me singular satisfaction: and the minister of the marine from that moment paid me the most marked attention.

The Count de Maurepas about this time intimated to me, that his majesty had resolved to confer some distinguished mark of his bounty and personal esteem on me; this proved to be a sword, mounted with gold, on which was engraven the following flattering motto:—

VINDICATI MARIS

LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR

STRENUO VINDICI.

The hilt was of gold, and the blade, &c. were emblazoned with his majesty's arms, the attributes of war, and an emblematical representation of the alliance between France and America. The most Christian king, at the same time, transmitted a most admirable letter to congress, in which he offered to decorate me with the order of military merit. All this was extremely flattering, as Louis XVI. had never presented a sword to any other officer, and never conferred the cross, except on such officers as were invested with his majesty's commission.

The minister of the marine, a short time after this, left

me the *Ariel*, a king's ship, carrying twenty guns, with which I sailed, October 8th, 1780, for America. The wind was at first favorable ; but I was soon after in danger of foundering on the Penmarks—and escaped only by cutting away my main and mizen masts. As soon as the storm abated, we erected jury masts, and returned to refit ; in short, it was the 18th of December before I could proceed for Philadelphia.

During the voyage, I fell in with an English twenty gun ship, called the *Triumph*, and partly by stratagem, and partly by hard fighting, forced her to strike her flag ; but while we were about to take possession of her, the captain, taking advantage of her superior sailing, made off, and escaped.

On my arrival in America, the congress, on the representation of the Chevalier De la Luzerne, passed a law to enable me to accept the military order of France. The French minister, on this occasion, gave an entertainment, to which all the members of congress, and the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, were invited ; after which I was invested, in their presence, with the decorations of the order.

As the three ministers plenipotentiary from America had unfortunately disagreed, it necessarily follows that there would be some contradiction in respect to their reports concerning me. In consequence of this, the congress enjoined the admiralty to inquire into the nature of my connection with the court of France, and the reasons which had induced me to remain in Europe, and delay the convoy of the military stores appertaining to the United States. In consequence of the examination that ensued, and the report that was delivered in, the congress passed an act, dated April 14, 1781, in which I was thanked, in the most flattering manner, ' for the zeal, the prudence, and the intrepidity, with which I had sustained the honor of the American flag ; for my bold and successful enterprises, with a view to redeem from captivity the citizens of America, who had fallen into the power of the English, and for the eminent services by which I had added lustre to my own character and the arms of America.' A committee of congress was also of opinion, ' that I deserved a gold medal, in remembrance of my services.'

On the 21st of June, 1781, I was appointed, by an unanimous vote of congress, to the command of the *America*, a seventy-four gun ship, then building ; and on the birth of



the Dauphin, I, at my own expense, celebrated that happy event by royal salutes during the day, and a brilliant illumination in the evening, accompanied by fire-works.

An unfortunate accident soon after this, deprived me of the command of that fine vessel: for the *Magnifique*, of 74 guns, belonging to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's fleet, happening to be lost at Boston, the congress seized on this occasion to testify its gratitude to his most christian majesty, by presenting him with the *America* to replace her.

In the mean time, it was resolved to place a French frigate, called *l'Indienne*, with two or three armed vessels under my orders, in order to seize on Bermudas; but, as this was never put into execution, I applied to congress for leave to serve on board the fleet of the Count d'Estaing, then destined for an expedition against Jamaica.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil received me with great distinction on board his own ship, the *Triumphant*, where I occupied the same cabin as the Baron de Viomenil, who commanded the land forces. When we were in sight of Porto Rico, intelligence was received, that Admirals Pigot and Hood were preparing to intercept us; and as Don Solano, with the Spanish fleet, did not meet us at Porto Cabello, according to his promise, many of the officers, becoming disgusted with the enterprise, fell sick, and I myself was in a dangerous state; but we were relieved from our disagreeable situation, by intelligence from Europe that a general peace had taken place. This circumstance afforded me great pleasure; as I now learned that Great Britain, after a long and bloody contest, had been forced to recognise the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America.

On this, we repaired to St. Domingo, where I received every possible mark of esteem from Mr. De Bellecombe, the governor; after a short stay, I embarked for Philadelphia, penetrated with gratitude for the various marks of esteem I had received from all the French officers during the five months I had been on board his majesty's squadron.

I was unable to re-establish my health, during the rest of the summer, which I spent in Pennsylvania; and I did not get well until the autumn, when I recovered by means of the cold bath.

I then demanded permission to return to Europe, on pur-

pose to recover the prize-money due to myself, officers and sailors, which was granted me by an act of congress, dated at Prince-Town, November 1, 1783.

On this, I embarked at Philadelphia, on board a packet-boat destined to Havre de Grace ; but being forced into Plymouth by contrary winds, I took post-horses for London, and then set out for Paris, and was received with great cordiality by the ministry,

Having at length received from the court of France the amount of the prizes, I returned to America on board a French packet-boat.

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### JOHN BARRY,

Commodore in the American Navy.

“ The father of the commodore was a respectable farmer in the county of Wexford, Ireland, where his son, the subject of this memoir, was born, in the year 1745. After having received the first elements of an English education, to gratify his particular inclination for the sea, his father entered him into the merchant service. When about fifteen years of age, he arrived in Pennsylvania, and selected it as the country of his future residence. With the circumstances which induced him to leave his native land, and take up his abode in a foreign country, we are not acquainted. Of this, however, we are certain, that they cannot have been in the least, injurious to his character ; as we find that in the capital of the British provinces, in the northern section of the western hemisphere, he was, for a number of years, in the employment of many of the most respectable merchants, of whose unlimited confidence he ever retained the full possession. Among the many gentlemen in whose service he was, Messrs. Meredith, Welling and Morris, and Nixon, stand most conspicuous. The ship *Black Prince*, a very valuable vessel, belonging to Mr. Nixon, engaged in the London trade, was commanded by him, at the commencement of the American Revolution ; but was shortly after purchased by Congress, and converted into a vessel of war.

In reviewing the causes which led to hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies, Barry was satisfied that justice was on the side of the latter. He therefore engaged

under the banners of freedom, and resolved to devote his best exertions to the emancipation of the colonies from the thralldom of the mother country.

Confiding in his patriotism, congress, in February 1776, a few months prior to the declaration of independence, appointed him commander of the brig *Lexington*, of sixteen guns, and his was the first *continental* vessel, which sailed from the port of Philadelphia. His cruises were successful. Congress had caused to be built three large frigates, one of which was called the *Effingham*, to the command of which he was appointed immediately after that memorable æra, which gave to the United States a name among the nations of the world. During the following winter his naval employment became nugatory, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, he, from an aversion to inactivity, became a volunteer aid, in that season of peril, to the intrepid General Cadwallader.

The city of Philadelphia, and the forts on the Delaware fell into the hands of the British, in the following year, 1777; and Commodore Barry, with several vessels of war, made good his retreat up the river, as far as Whitehall, where, however, they were afterwards destroyed by the enemy.

Prior to the destruction of these vessels, he successfully employed those under his command in annoying the enemy, and cutting off the supplies.

After the destruction of the American squadron, and soon after the capture of Philadelphia, he was appointed to command the *Raleigh*, of thirty-two guns, which, on a cruise, was run on shore by a British suqadron on Fox Island, in Penobscot Bay.

Subsequent to the above disasters, he commanded a vessel commissioned with letters of marque and reprisal, and engaged in the West India trade for some time.

When Congress concluded to build a 74 gun ship in New Hampshire, he was ordered to command her. It was, however, afterwards determined to make a present of this vessel to his most Christian majesty, when that august body gave him the command of the *Alliance* frigate.

The situation of American affairs becoming important, in a foreign point of view, Colonel John Laurens, of South Carolina, son of Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London, was ordered to France on a special mission. Commodore Barry sailed in the *Alliance* from Boston for L'Orient, in February, 1781, having the minister extra-



ordinary and suite on board. After landing the ambassador and suite at L'Orient, in the early part of the same year, the Alliance sailed on a cruise.

On the 29th of May following, at day-light, Commodore Barry discovered a ship and brig on his weather bow, appearing afterwards to wear the British flag. He consequently prepared for immediate action. The British ship appeared to be the *Atalanta*, Captain Edwards, of between twenty and thirty guns, and the brig *Treposa*, Captain Smith. An action shortly commenced, and by three, P. M. both vessels struck. Barry was wounded early in the engagement; but notwithstanding his sufferings, in consequence of this casualty,, he still remained on deck and it was owing to his intrepidity and presence of mind, that the Alliance was the victor.

On December 25 1781, he sailed in the Alliance for France, from Boston, having on board the Marquis de la Fayette and Count De Noailles, who were desirous of going to their native country, on business of the highest importance. He had scarcely arrived at his destined port, (L'Orient,) than he sailed in February, 1782, on a cruise, during which he fell in with an enemy's ship of equal size, and had a severe engagement. The enemy would have been captured, had it not been for two consorts, which, however, were kept at a distance during the action, by a French fifty gun ship, which hove in sight. The continental ship *Luzerne*, of twenty guns, had her guns thrown over board before the battle began, in order to facilitate her escape, as she had a quantity of specie on board from Havana, for the use of the United States. The captain of the British frigate, who was soon after advanced to be vice-admiral of the red, acknowledged that he had never received a more severe flagellation than on this occasion, although it seemed to have had the appearance of a drawn battle.

During the time that General Lord Howe was the British commander in chief, he attempted to alineate the commodore from the cause which he had so ardently espoused, by an offer of 20,000 guineas, and the command of the best frigate in the British navy; but he rejected the offer with scorn. The return of peace, however, in the year 1783, put an end to all such dishonorable propositions, and our commodore returned to private life.

In the treaty of Paris. 1783, there was an article prohibiting the United States from building vessels of war during

the term of twelve years. At the expiration of this limitation, however, our government conceived themselves to be on the eve of a war with Great Britain, in consequence of the celebrated *corn order* of the privy council of 1793, for the avowed purpose of starving France, and the subsequent aggressions on American commerce. These apprehensions gave birth to a law for creating a navy, to the command of which Commodore Barry was designed. The treaty of 1795, however, prevented the law from being carried into full execution, although Mr. Barry, in consequence of that law, was retained in service.

That the United States were under great obligations to France, for the aid she lent them, during their struggle for liberty and independence, is a fact which few will deny; and the extent of these obligations was fully expressed in the treaty between the two countries in 1778. It was, therefore, a matter of surprise to many, who have not, till this day, called in question the integrity of the illustrious man, who then directed the destinies of our nation, to find that he had issued a proclamation, enjoining a strict neutrality, as if no compact between the two governments had ever existed. He was, however, unquestionably actuated by the purest motive, and must have thought that the steps which he had taken would promote the interest of his country,

In 1797, it was deemed proper by the American government, from some cause not generally known, or explicitly avowed, to annul the consular convention with France; the pretext for which was French aggression on American commerce. During the maritime disturbance thus created between the two countries, Mr. Barry was actively engaged in protecting the commerce of his adopted country, and was held in the highest estimation by his nautical brethren. When this dispute was at last satisfactorily adjusted, a law was passed, during the last year of Mr. Adams' administration, for reducing the navy; in consequence of which the vessel he commanded was laid up in ordinary, and he once more returned to private life.

Bold, brave, and enterprising, he was, at the same time, humane and generous. He was a good citizen, and greatly esteemed by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His person was above the ordinary size, graceful and commanding; his deportment dignified, and his countenance expressive.

He died in Philadelphia, on the 30th of September, 1803, and a vast concourse of his fellow-citizens testified their respect to his memory, by attending his remains to the silent grave."\*

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### **NICHOLAS BIDDLE,**

Commodore in the American Navy.

"CAPTAIN BIDDLE was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. Among the brave men, who perished in the glorious struggle for the independence of America, Capt. Biddle holds a distinguished rank. His services, and the high expectations raised by his military genius and gallantry, have left a strong impression of his merit, and a profound regret that his early fate should have disappointed, so soon, the hopes of his country.

Very early in life he manifested a partiality for the sea, and before the age of fourteen he had made a voyage to Quebec. In the following year, 1765, he sailed from Philadelphia to Jamaica, and the Bay of Honduras. The vessel left the Bay in the latter end of December, 1765, bound to Antigua, and on the second day of January, in a heavy gale of wind, she was cast away, on a shoal, called the Northern Triangles. After remaining two nights and a day upon the wreck, the crew took their yawl, the long-boat having been lost, and with great difficulty and hazard, landed on one of the small uninhabited islands, about 3 leagues distant from the reef, upon which they struck. Here they staid a few days. Some provisions were procured from the wreck, and their boat was refitted. As it was too small to carry them all off, they drew lots to determine who should remain, and young Biddle was among the number. He, and his three companions, suffered extreme hardships for the want of provisions and good water; and, although various efforts were made for their relief, it was nearly two months before they succeeded.

Such a scene of dangers and sufferings in the commencement of his career, would have discouraged a youth of ordinary enterprise and perseverance. On him it produced no such effect. The coolness and promptitude with which he acted, in the midst of perils that alarmed the old-

\* Willson's American Biography.



est seamen, gave a sure presage of the force of his character, and after he had returned home, he made several European voyages, in which he acquired a thorough knowledge of seamanship.

The commencement of the revolution gave a new turn to his pursuits, and he repaired, without delay, to the standard of his country. When a rupture between England and America appeared inevitable, he returned to Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival, he was appointed to the command of the Camden galley, fitted for the defence of the Delaware. He found this too inactive a service, and when the fleet was preparing, under Commodore Hopkins, for an expedition against New-Providence, he applied for a command in the fleet, and was immediately appointed commander of the *Andrew Doria*, a brig of 14 guns and 130 men. Paul Jones, who was then a lieutenant, and was going on the expedition, was distinguished by Captain Biddle, and introduced to his friends as an officer of merit.

Before he sailed from the Capes of Delaware, an incident occurred, which marked his personal intrepidity. Hearing that two deserters from his vessel were at Lewistown in prison, an officer was sent on shore for them, but he returned with information that the two men, with some others, had armed themselves, barricadoed the door, and swore they would not be taken; that the militia of the town had been sent for, but were afraid to open the door, the prisoners threatening to shoot the first man who entered. Captain Biddle immediately went to the prison, accompanied by a midshipman, and calling to one of the deserters, whose name was Green, a stout, resolute fellow, ordered him to open the door; he replied that he would not, and if he attempted to enter, he would shoot him. He then ordered the door to be forced, and entering singly, with a pistol in each hand, he called to Green, who was prepared to fire, and said, "Now, Green, if you do not take good aim, you are a dead man." Daunted by his manner, their resolution failed, and the militia coming in, secured them. They afterwards declared to the officer who furnishes the account, that it was Captain Biddle's look and manner which had awed them into submission, for that they had determined to kill him as soon as he came into the room.

Writing from the Capes to his brother, the late Judge Biddle, he says, "I know not what may be our fate: be it, however, what it may, you may rest assured, I will never cease

a blush on the cheeks of my friends or countrymen." Soon after they sailed, the small-pox broke out, and raged with great violence in the fleet, which was manned chiefly by New-England seamen. The humanity of Captain Biddle, always prompt and active, was employed on this occasion to alleviate the general distress, by all the means in his power. His own crew, which was from Philadelphia, being secure against the distemper, he took on board great numbers of the sick from the other vessels. Every part of his vessel was crowded, the long-boat was fitted for their accommodation, and he gave up his own cot to a young midshipman, on whom he bestowed the greatest attention till his death. In the mean while he slept himself upon the lockers, refusing the repeated solicitations of his officers, to accept their berths. On their arrival at New Providence, it surrendered without opposition.

After refitting at New-London, Captain Biddle received orders to proceed off the banks of Newfoundland, in order to intercept the transports and store-ships bound to Boston. Before he reached the banks, he captured two ships from Scotland, with 400 Highland troops on board, destined for Boston. At this time the *Andrew Doria* had not 100 men. Lieutenant Josiah, a brave and excellent officer, was put on board one of the prizes, with all the Highland officers, and ordered to make the first port. Unfortunately, about ten days afterwards, he was taken by the *Cerberus* frigate, and, on pretence of his being an Englishman, he was ordered to do duty, and extremely ill used. Captain Biddle, hearing of the ill treatment of Lieutenant Josiah, wrote to the admiral at New-York, that, however disagreeable it was to him, he would treat a young man of family, believed to be a son of Lord Craston, who was then his prisoner, in the manner they treated Lieutenant Josiah.

While he was thus indefatigably engaged in weakening the enemy's power, and advancing his country's interest, he was disinterested and generous in all that related to his private advantage. The brave and worthy opponent, whom the chance of war had thrown in his power, found in him a patron and friend, who, on more than one occasion, was known to restore to the vanquished the fruits of victory.

In the latter end of the year 1776, Captain Biddle was appointed to the command of the *Randolph*, a frigate of thirty-two guns. With his usual activity, he employed every exertion to get her ready for sea. The difficulty of procu-

ring American seamen at that time, obliged him, in order to man his ship, to take a number of British seamen, who were prisoners of war, and who had requested leave to enter.

The Randolph sailed from Philadelphia, in February, 1777. Soon after she got to sea, her lower masts were discovered to be unsound, and, in a heavy gale of wind, all her masts went by the board. While they were bearing away for Charleston, the English sailors, with some others of the crew, formed a design to take the ship. When all was ready, they gave three cheers on the gun-deck. By the decided and resolute conduct of Captain Biddle and his officers, the ringleaders were seized and punished, and the rest submitted without further resistance. After refitting at Charleston, as speedily as possible, he sailed on a cruise, and three days after he left the bar, he fell in with four sail of vessels, bound from Jamaica to London. One of them, called the True Briton, mounted twenty guns. The commander of her, who had frequently expressed to his passengers, his hopes of falling in with the Randolph, as soon as he perceived her, made all the sail he could from her, but finding he could not escape, he hove too, and kept up a constant fire, until the Randolph had bore down upon him, and was preparing for a broadside, when he hauled down his colours. By her superior sailing, the Randolph was enabled to capture the rest of the vessels, and in one week from the time he sailed from Charleston, Captain Biddle returned there with his prizes, which proved to be very valuable.

Encouraged by his spirit and success, the state of South Carolina made exertions for fitting out an expedition under his command. His name, and the personal attachment to him, urged forward a crowd of volunteers to serve with him, and in a short time, the ship General Moultrie, the brigs Fair America, and Polly, and the Notre Dame, were prepared for sea. A detachment of fifty men from the first regiment of South Carolina continental infantry, was ordered to act as marines on board the Randolph. Such was the attachment which the honorable and amiable deportment of Captain Biddle had impressed during his stay at Charleston, and such the confidence inspired by his professional conduct and valor, that a general emulation pervaded the corps to have the honor of serving under his command. The tour of duty, after a generous competition among the officers, was decided to Captain Joor, and Lieutenants Grey



and Simmons, whose gallant conduct, and that of their brave detachment, did justice to the high character of the regiment. As soon as the Randolph was refitted, and a new mainmast obtained in place of one which had been struck with lightning, she dropt down to Rebellion Roads with her little squadron. Their intention was to attack the Carysfort frigate, the Perseus twenty-four gun ship, the Hinchinbrook of sixteen guns, and a privateer which had been cruizing off the Bar, and had much annoyed the trade. They were detained a considerable time in Rebellion Roads, after they were ready to sail, by contrary winds and want of water, on the Bar, for the Randolph. As soon as they got over the Bar, they stood to the eastward, in expectation of falling in with the British cruisers. The next day they retook a dismasted ship from New-England; as she had no cargo on board, they took out her crew, six light guns, and some stores, and set her on fire. Finding that the British ships had left the coast, they proceeded to the West Indies, and cruised to the eastward, and nearly in the latitude of Barbadoes, for some days, during which time they boarded a number of French and Dutch ships, and took an English schooner from New-York, bound to Grenada, which had mistaken the Randolph for a British frigate, and was taken possession of before the mistake was discovered.

On the night of the 7th March, 1778, the fatal accident occurred, which terminated the life of this excellent officer. For some days previously, he had expected an attack. Captain Blake, a brave officer, who commanded a detachment of the second South Carolina regiment, serving as marines on board the General Moultrie, and to whom we are indebted for several of the ensuing particulars, dined on board the Randolph two days before the engagement. At dinner Captain Biddle said,—“We have been cruizing here for some time, and have spoken a number of vessels, who will no doubt give information of us, and I should not be surprised if my old ship should be out after us. As to any thing that carries her guns upon one deck, I think myself a match for her.” About three P. M. of the 7th of March, a signal was made from the Randolph for a sail to windward, in consequence of which the squadron hauled upon a wind, in order to speak her. It was four o'clock before she could be distinctly seen, when she was discovered to be a ship, though as she neared and came before the wind, she had

the appearance of a large sloop with only a square sail set. About seven o'clock the Randolph being to windward, hove to, the Moultrie being about one hundred and fifty yards astern, and rather to leeward, also hove to. About eight o'clock, the British ship fired a shot just ahead of the Moultrie, and hailed her; the answer was the Polly of New-York; upon which she immediately hauled her wind and hailed the Randolph. She was then, for the first time, discovered to be a two-decker. After several questions asked and answered, as she was ranging up along side the Randolph, and had got on her weather quarter, Lieutenant Barnes, of that ship, called out, "This is the Randolph," and she immediately hoisted her colours and gave the enemy a broadside. Shortly after the action commenced, Captain Biddle received a wound in the thigh, and fell. This occasioned some confusion, as it was at first thought that he was killed. He soon, however, ordered a chair to be brought, said that he was only slightly wounded, and being carried forward encouraged the crew. The stern of the enemy's ship being clear of the Randolph, the captain of the Moultrie gave orders to fire, but the enemy having shot ahead, so as to bring the Randolph between them, the last broadside of the Moultrie went into the Randolph, and it was thought by one of the men saved, who was stationed on the quarter-deck near Captain Biddle, that he was wounded by a shot from the Moultrie. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired nearly three broadsides to the enemy's one, and she appeared, while the battle lasted, to be in a continual blaze. In about twenty minutes after the action began, and while the surgeon was examining Captain Biddle's wound on the quarter-deck, the Randolph blew up.

The enemy's vessel was the British ship Yarmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Vincent. So closely were they engaged, that Captain Morgan, of the Fair American, and all his crew, thought that it was the enemy's ship that had blown up. He stood for the Yarmouth, and had a trumpet in his hand to hail and inquire how Captain Biddle was, when he discovered his mistake. Owing to the disabled condition of the Yarmouth the other vessels escaped.

The cause of the explosion was never ascertained, but it is remarkable that just before he sailed, after the clerk had copied the signals and orders for the armed vessels that ac-

accompanied him, he wrote at the foot of them, "In case of coming to action in the night, be very careful of your magazines." The number of persons on board the Randolph was three hundred and fifteen, who all perished, except four men, who were tossed about for four days on a piece of the wreck before they were discovered and taken up. From the information of two of these men, who were afterwards in Philadelphia, and of some individuals in the other vessels of the squadron, we have been enabled to state some particulars of this unfortunate event in addition to the accounts given of it by Dr. Ramsay in his History of the American Revolution, and in his history of the Revolution of South Carolina. In the former work, the historian thus concludes his account of the action: "Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer."

Thus prematurely fell, at the age of twenty-seven, as gallant an officer as any country ever boasted of. In the short career which Providence allowed to him, he displayed all those qualities which constitute a great soldier. Brave to excess, and consummately skilled in his profession, no danger nor unexpected event could shake his firmness, or disturb his presence of mind. An exact and rigid disciplinarian, he tempered his authority with so much humanity and affability, that his orders were always executed with cheerfulness and alacrity. Perhaps no officer ever understood better the art of commanding the affections, as well as the respect of those who served under him; if that can be called an art, which was rather the natural effect of the benevolence and magnanimity of his character."\*

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### EDWARD PREBLE,

Commodore in the American Navy.

"JEDEDIAH PREBLE held the commission of brigadier-general, under the colonial government of Massachusetts Bay. In the struggle for independence, he took a decided stand in opposition to the encroachments of the British

\* Rogers' Amer. Biographical Dictionary.



crown, and during that contest, was for several years a member of the council and senate of that state. He died in the year 1783, aged seventy-seven, having been gratified by the disposer of human events to live just long enough to see perfected the emancipation of this country from European thralldom, a blessing partly denied to Moses, who was only permitted to view the promised land at a distance, and then expire.

This gentleman, in the year 1761, resided in a part of Falmouth, called then Casco Bay, now Portland, in the Province of Maine, where his son Edward, the subject of this memoir, was born on the 15th of August in that year. In his infantile years, he discovered a persevering and bold temper. His form was robust, his constitution strong, and invigorated by athletic sports. His father placed him at Dummer academy, Newbury, where he received the rudiments of a Latin and English education, under a Mr. Samuel Moody, a gentleman in high respect for his integrity and literary qualifications.

In contrariety to the wishes and expectations of his father, he, at an early period, manifested a predilection for the sea, and as he persisted in his inclination, his father at last deemed it proper to gratify him. Hence he left school at the dawn of the revolution, and instead of entering a *freshman* at college, he entered *freshman* on board of a letter of marque, Captain Frend, and made his voyage in a trip to Europe. At the age of eighteen, he was a midshipman on board the state ship Protector, of twenty-six guns, Captain John Foster Williams, in 1779. On her first cruise he had to perform his part in a hard fought action with the English letter of marque Duff, carrying thirty-six guns, off Newfoundland, when the enemy at last blew up. Scarcely forty of the crew were saved. During his second cruise, the Protector was captured, and her principal officers sent prisoners to England, with the exception of Preble, who was released at New-York, through the influence of a Colonel William Tyng, his father's intimate friend. As soon as he had obtained his liberty, he returned home.

Mr. George Williams, the late first lieutenant of the Protector, having been appointed to command the sloop of war Winthrop, then fitting out at Boston, Mr. Preble entered as first lieutenant, and continued in her until the peace of 1783, rendering many essential services in the line of his duty.—

His daring courage and presence of mind, in the midst of danger, will be best illustrated by the following anecdote :

Captain Little, having the tender of an English armed brig, which lay in the harbor of Penobscot was advised of certain circumstances, which induced him to attempt her capture by surprise. To accomplish this object, he run along-side the brig in the night, and had forty boarders dressed in white frocks, to distinguish them from the enemy. As he advanced, he was taken for the brig's tender, hailed, and directed to *run aboard*. Little's reply was, that he *was coming aboard*,

As Little came along-side the brig, Lieutenant Preble and fourteen of the party appointed for the purpose, jumped on board ; but the rapidity of the vessel's passage prevented the remainder from following. Captain Little, finding the precariousness of Preble's situation, hailed him, desiring to know, if he would not have more men. His reply, indicative of great presence of mind, was, " No, we have more than we want ; we stand in each other's way. The brig being within pistol shot of the shore, the chief part of the enemy on deck leaped over board, and swam to land ; who were followed by some, who made their escape through the cabin windows. The officers were just rising as Preble entered their cabin ; he assured them, that they were his prisoners, and that any resistance would be vain and fatal to them. The vessel of course was surrendered, as was supposed to superior force. Notwithstanding a brisk cannonade and firing of musketry from a battery on shore, Preble beat his prize out of the harbor, and arrived at Boston, without injury. The knowledge of this gallant achievement greatly enhanced his reputation as a naval officer.

In May, 1803, he was appointed to the command of the frigate Constitution, lying at Boston, with orders to prepare her for sea. In June a squadron, destined to act against Tripoli, was entrusted to his direction. The naval force consisted of seven sail. The Constitution, forty-four guns ; Philadelphia, forty-four ; Argus, brig, eighteen ; Syren, Nautilus and Vixen, sixteen each ; and Enterprise, fourteen. Every thing being ready, he set sail for the object of his destination, on the 13th of August. Having arrived at Gibraltar, where he was apprised of the unfavorable aspect of affairs between the United States and the Emperor of Morocco, Captain Bainbridge detained a Moorish cruiser of twenty-two guns and one hundred men, called the *Mirboka*, which

had sailed from Tangier, on the 7th of the same month.—On board this vessel, he found among her papers, an unsigned order, authorising her commander to cruise against the Americans. From that circumstance, as well as her having captured the American brig *Celia*, Captain Bowen, which was then in company, Captain Bainbridge deemed the Moorish vessel to be good prize, and restored the *Celia* to her proper commander.

The last of May, Captain Rodgers had detained the *Mishouda*, a Tripolitan vessel under Morocco colours. She had a passport from the American consul, with a reserve for blockaded ports. She was taken attempting to go into Tripoli, while Captain Rodgers, in the *John Adams*, was known to be blockading. On board her were guns and other contraband articles not in her, when she received her passport at Gibraltar; also twenty Tripoline subjects taken in at Algiers. The appearance was that she had been taken under the imperial flag for the purpose of being restored to our enemy. The emperor denied authorising the attempt of the *Mishouda*, and said if she was given up, the captain should be punished. The Governor, Hashash, on learning the capture of the *Mirboka*, at which time the emperor was absent, declared she acted without authority, and that war was not intended. At the same time, her captain certified that this governor gave him his orders. Hashash was, and continued to be in the confidence of Muley Soliman.

The next day after his arrival, Commodore Preble wrote to the consul Simpson at Tangier, desiring him to assure the Moorish court, that the United States wished peace with his majesty, if it could be had on proper terms—that he could not suppose the emperor's subjects would dare to make war without his permission; but as their authority was disavowed by the governor, he should punish as a pirate every Moorish cruiser, who should be found to have taken an American.

The commodore determined to adopt a high tone and vigorous measures. He observes, in his communications to the government, “that all the Barbary powers, except Algiers, appear to have a disposition to quarrel with us, unless we tamely submit to any propositions they may choose to make. Their demands will increase, and be such as our government ought not to comply with. They send out their cruisers,—if they prove successful, it is war, and we must purchase peace, suffering them to keep all they have taken;



and if they are unfortunate, and we capture their cruisers before they have taken any thing valuable, it is not war, although the orders for capturing are found on board; and we must restore all."

Accordingly, the commodore gave orders to his squadron to bring in, for examination, all vessels belonging to the emperor and his subjects; despatched three vessels to cruise off Mogadore, Salle and Zarachi, and one off Tetuan, and entered the bay of Tangier at several times.

That the Tripolitans might not think they were forgotten, he despatched the Philadelphia and Vixen to lie before Tripoli.

The consul, Simpson, made representations to the emperor, before and after the arrival of Commodore Preble. The answers received were general, but showed that if he had authorized war, he was now prepared to disavow it.

On the 5th of October, when his majesty was expected, he anchored with the Nautilus in company, in Tangier Bay—the circular battery at the town, W. 1-2 S. 1 1-2 miles distant. Here he remained, only changing his ground once to be nearer the town, until peace was concluded. He was joined in the afternoon of the 7th, by the frigates New-York and John Adams. The ship was kept constantly cleared for action, and the men at quarters night and day. On the 6th, his majesty arrived with a great body of troops, horse and foot, estimated at five thousand, who encamped on the beach opposite the squadron.

The commodore was careful to order the ship dressed, and a salute of 21 guns, which was returned from the fort with an equal number, as was the salute of the other frigates on the morning following.

A present of bullocks, sheep and fowls, was ordered for the squadron, as a token of the emperor's good will.

On the 8th, the emperor, with his court and a large body of troops, visited the batteries on the bay for the purpose of viewing the United States' squadron, when the Constitution saluted again with twenty-one guns—a compliment with which his majesty was very much gratified. The present arriving at the same time, it was acknowledged by three guns, according to Moorish custom. The following day the consul gave notice, that the emperor had given orders to the governor of Mogadore, for the release of the American brig detained in that place, and that Monday was appointed for giving an audience to the commodore and consul.

On the day assigned, the 11th, the commodore, accompanied by Colonel Lear, Mr. Morris, as secretary, and two midshipmen, landed at Tangier for the proposed audience. He believed there was no danger in landing; but he expressed his desire, that if he should be forcibly detained, the commanding officer on board should not enter into treaty for his release, but open a fire upon the town. They were ushered into the presence of the sovereign through a double file of guards. The commodore, at the entrance, was requested, according to Moorish custom, in such cases, to lay aside his side-arms. He said he must comply with the custom of his own country, and retain them, which was allowed. On coming into the imperial presence, the emperor expressed much sorrow that any difference had arisen, for he was at peace with the United States. He disavowed having given any hostile orders; said he would restore all American vessels and property detained in consequence of any act of his governors, and renew and confirm the treaty made with his father in 1786. The commodore and consul, on the part of the United States, promised that the vessels and property of the emperor should be restored, and the orders of capture revoked. The commodore received a formal ratification of the treaty of 1786, and a letter of friendship and peace to the president, signed by the emperor. Thus, by the happy union of prudence and energy, our affairs with this piratical despot were placed in a better condition than before the variance.

On the 14th of December, he sailed with the *Enterprise*, on a winter cruise, amidst boisterous weather; for many days it blew a gale. On the morning of the 23d, the *Enterprise* captured a ketch in sight of Tripoli. She was under Turkish colours, and navigated by Turks and Greeks; but had on board two Tripolitan officers of distinction, a son of one of the officers, a number of Tripoline soldiers, and forty or more blacks, men and women, slaves belonging to the Bashaw and his subjects. He at first determined to release the vessel and men claimed by the Turkish captain and retain the Tripolines, about 60 in number, as prisoners; hoping they would afford an advantage in negotiation, and perhaps be exchanged for some of our countrymen. But before this determination was executed, he ascertained that the captain had been active in taking the Philadelphia. Having received on board this very vessel one hundred Tripolitans, armed with swords and muskets, and substitu-

ted the colours of the enemy for his own, he assaulted the frigate, and when she was boarded, plundered the officers. He had, therefore, no hesitation in retaining the vessel. As she was not in a condition to be sent to the United States, he transmitted her papers to government, and sometime after had her appraised, and took her into the service as the ketch *Intrepid*.

February the 3d, 1804, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, with seventy volunteers in the *Intrepid*, and accompanied by the *Syren*, sailed for Tripoli, with a view to destroy the frigate *Philadelphia*. On the 16th, the service was accomplished in the most gallant manner. Lieutenant Decatur entered the harbor of Tripoli in the night; and laying his vessel along-side the frigate, boarded and carried her against all opposition. The assailants then set fire to her and left her. She was soon in a complete blaze, and was totally destroyed.

From this time till the bombardment of Tripoli, the commodore was occupied in keeping up the blockade of the harbor, and in making preparations for an attack.

On the first of April, the commodore went to display his force at Tunis; where he found a Tripoline polacre dismantled, having been blockaded for sixteen days by Captain Decatur.

Finding that the expected force did not arrive from the United States, our officers resolved to endeavor to make some use of the friendship of Naples. Although he was without diplomatic authority, the minister, General Acton, from personal regard and good will to the service, favored his application to the king, and the commodore obtained as a friendly loan to the United States, six gun-boats and two bomb vessels, completely fitted for service, also liberty to ship twelve or fifteen Neapolitans to serve under our flag in each boat.

With this addition to his armament, on the 21st July, he joined the detachment off Tripoli, where his force consisted of the *Constitution*, 44 guns, the brigs *Argus* and *Syren*, 18 guns each, the *Scourge*—the schooners *Vixen* and *Nautilus*, 16 guns each, and the *Enterprise*, 14.

The enemy had on his castle and several batteries, one hundred and fifteen guns; fifty-five of which were heavy battering brass cannon; the others long eighteen and twelve pounders; nineteen gun-boats, with each a long brass eighteen or twenty-four pounder in the bow, and two



howitzers abaft. He had two schooners of eight guns each, a brig of ten, and two gallies, having each four guns. In addition to the ordinary Turkish garrison, stationed upon the fortifications, and the crews of the boats and armed vessels, computed at about three thousand, the Bashaw had called into the defence of the city more than twenty thousand Arabs.

On the 3d of August, the squadron was, at noon, within two or three miles of their batteries. The commodore, observing that several of the enemy's boats had taken a station without the reef of rocks, which covers the entrance of the harbor, about two miles from its bottom, resolved to take advantage of the circumstance, and made signal for the squadron to come within speaking distance, when he communicated to the several commanders his intention of attacking the shipping and batteries. The gun and mortar boats were immediately manned and prepared to cast off. At half past one o'clock, the squadron stood for the batteries—at two, cast off the gun-boats; at half past two, signal for the bombs and boats to advance and attack, and in fifteen minutes after, signal was given for general action. It was commenced by the bombs throwing shells into the town. In an instant, the enemy's lines opened a tremendous fire from not less than two hundred guns, which was promptly returned by the whole squadron, now within musket-shot of the principal batteries.

At this moment Captain Decatur, with three gun-boats, attacked the enemy's eastern division, consisting of nine. He was soon in the centre of them; and the fire of grape, langrage and musketry, was changed to a deadly personal combat with the bayonet, spear, sabre and tomahawk. It would be impossible, in our narrow limits, to enter into a detail of the gallant exploits of our countrymen upon this trying occasion. The Turks fought with desperation; Decatur took two of their boats, in which there were thirty-three officers and men killed, and twenty-seven made prisoners, of whom nineteen were severely wounded.

Lieutenant Trippe boarded one of the large boats, with only a midshipman, Mr. Jonathan Henley, and nine men. His boat falling off before any more could join him, he was left to conquer or perish, with the fearful odds of eleven to thirty-six. In a few minutes, however, the enemy was subdued; fourteen of them lost their lives, and twenty-two submitted to be prisoners; Lieutenant Trippe received

eleven sabre wounds, some of which were deep and dangerous. Mr. Henley at this rencounter, displayed a valor, joined to a coolness, that would have honored a veteran. Lieutenant Bainbridge had his lateen yard shot away, which baffled his exertions to get along-side the enemy's boats; but his active and well directed fire, within musket-shot, was very effective.

Captain Somers was not able to fetch far enough to windward to co-operate with Decatur. But he bore down upon the leeward division of the enemy, and with his single boat, within pistol-shot, attacked five full manned boats, defeated and drove them, in a shattered condition, and with the loss of many lives, under shelter of the rocks,

The two bomb vessels kept their station, although often covered with the spray of the sea, occasioned by the enemy's shot. They kept up a constant fire, and threw a great number of shells into the town. Five of the enemy's gun-boats and two gallies, composing their centre division, stationed within the rocks, joined by the boats which had been driven in, and re-enforced twice, attempted to row out and surround our gun-boats and prizes. They were as often foiled by the vigilance of the commodore, who gave signal to the brigs and schooners to cover them, which was promptly attended to by the vessels, all of which were gallantly conducted, and annoyed the enemy exceedingly. The fire of the Constitution had its ample share in this bombardment. It kept the flotilla in constant disorder, and produced no inconsiderable effect on shore.

This attack on Tripoli displayed, in an eminent degree, the penetration and energy of the commodore, and his power of infusing his own spirit of heroism into his officers and men. This achievement, as might be expected, made a powerful impression on the mind of the enemy.

On the 9th, Commodore Preble, in the brig Argus, reconnoitered the harbor of Tripoli. The next day, a flag of truce was seen flying on the castle. The commodore sent a boat on shore, which was not permitted to land, but returned with a letter from the French consul, advising the commodore that the Bashaw would accept five hundred dollars each for the ransom of the prisoners, and terminate the war without any consideration or annuity for peace.

On the 27th, the weather proving favorable, the commodore stood in for Tripoli, and anchored his ship. The gun-boats, accompanied by the Syren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus,

Enterprise, and boats of the squadron, anchored at three in the morning, within pistol-shot of the enemy's lines, with springs on their cables, and commenced a brisk firing on their shipping, town, batteries and castles. At day-light, apprehensive that the ammunition in the gun-boats must be nearly exhausted, the commodore weighed anchor, and made signal for the gun-boats to retire from action. When arrived within a sure distance, he opened his battery with round and grape-shot, upon thirteen gun-boats and gallies, which were closely engaged with ours, sunk one of them, disabled two, and put the rest to flight.

On the third of September, the bomb-ketches being repaired, as well as the damages sustained by the other vessels in the action of the 27th, the squadron was again ready and disposed for another attack on the town and batteries. Between three and four o'clock, the action commenced, and soon became general. But the wind veering to the northward, and beginning to blow fresh at half past four P. M. he gave signal to retire from action under cover of the Constitution. In this engagement, although the frigate and vessels were much damaged, not a man was lost.

After the squadron joined, the commodore obtained leave to return home, where he was received and treated every where with distinguished attention.

In the latter part of the year 1806, the health of Mr. Preble began to decline. Finding that the inveteracy of his malady bid defiance to medical skill, he resolved on a water excursion as a last experiment; but it resulted in no beneficial effect. He breathed his last on Tuesday, the 25th of August, 1807, in the 46th year of his age. On the day of his funeral, business was suspended, the colours were displayed at half mast from the shipping in the harbor, and he was interred with military honors, and the ceremonies of religion and masonry."\*

\* Rogers' American Biography.















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